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ABSTRACT

The four papers in this collection form part of the nucleus of research by a task force of advanced social science doctoral students who were foreign nationals enrolled in Midwestern universities. The first three papers, each a chapter situated within an interdisciplinary context, draw from politics, sociology, and history to define constructs on the process of social change. The last paper applies economic theory to the wage earnings of adults in an urban metropolitan setting. An introduction by Daphne W. Ntiri, providing an overview of the research papers, precedes the chapters. The following four papers are included: "In from the Margins: Challenges, Possibilities and Limitations of Participatory Research" (Derek C. Mulenga); "Adult Education and Social Change: Toward a Typology of USA. Adult Education" (Raymond Familusi); "Africa's Educational Dilemma: Roadblocks to Universal Literacy for Social Integration and Change" (Daphne W. Ntiri); and "Quality of Education and Its Impact on Earning of Adults in Urban Industry-Related Occupations" (Fan Zhang). Each paper includes a list of references. (KC)

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Models for Adult and Lifelong Learning
Volume 1

Adult Education & Social Change

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INTRODUCTION

The more we can learn about adult education in terms of its history and pedagogy, the greater the opportunity for building a structured framework by which to push for more democratic change and social justice. Since adult education is often beset by varying philosophical and theoretical arguments and interpretations, particularly about social practice and social inequalities, suffice it to say that the search for greater understanding and advancement of professional knowledge continues. On every front, people are concerned with finding ways to improve society. They are alarmed at the continuing rate of exploitation, oppression, and the exclusion of marginalized groups within many existing structures for the purpose of control or capitalistic gains.

In the world of work, for example, competing pressures and escalating demands pose new challenges that bring this social phenomenon into greater focus as an element of scientific inquiry. Adult education scholars therefore assume the professional responsibility of taking a stand against the nature of these forces, both institutional and social, to effect change through the use of education. The ultimate goal in this process is learning: learning that improves the social index and bolsters communities and populations to help transform their experience into meaningful knowledge and skills; and learning that passes on information upon which good citizenship and adult enrichment can be built.

Today, the literature abounds with studies relative to new and radical development at the work place. The traditional work environment has been convoluted by recent technological developments and other complex social realities, including the changing demographic and multicultural profile of society, the continuing increase of women in the civilian labor force, the extended years of the graying population and declining birth rates. All of these social phenomena contribute to a radically transformed environment.

As the processes of adult learning undergo critical assessment, adult educators become aware of the changes that have come to represent knowledge and skill acquisition. Questions arise such as: "How can communities be restructured to adapt to rapid changes?" "What effective methodologies or models exist that have made the difference in adult learning?" Asun, in a recent article on adult education and adult learning, reviews the literature in which scholars' divergent postulates of adult learning highlight learning and knowledge as elements of a continuum. He shows how Malcolm Knowles introduced "andragogy" over "pedagogy" in the teaching of adults within the humanistic framework, whereas Peter Jarvis challenges "learning from above" with "learning from below" in a pragmatic sense. The radical educator, Paulo Freire popularizes "conscientization and liberatory education" over "indoctrination and banking education" (Asun, 1996). This search for ways of knowing and types of knowledge lead us then to higher levels of empowerment and a better grasp of the world around us.

The papers in this collection form part of the nucleus of research and scholarship by a special task force I created. This group consisted of selected advanced social science doctoral students who were foreign nationals enrolled in Midwestern universities. Their various disciplinary contributions, I hoped, would bring conceptual depth, contextual substance, and pedagogic insights to the subject of social change and adult education. The papers in no way purport to convey a comprehensive pronouncement about the broad parameters of social change, but they are especially helpful given their penetrating look at issues and trends that push for social change in both developed and underdeveloped country contexts. This added input from the international side makes this work even more appealing and useful to the reader. We learn of the dilemmas confronting countries of Africa for whom change is a gradual evolution, and for the US where life is equally challenging and change is a rapid revolution. Facets of social life are coupled with historical and quantifiable data to give attention to the processes and passage of change.

Derek Mulenga from Buffalo State College is a Tanzanian national who came to my attention by way of his supervising faculty, Phyllis Cunningham, Professor of Adult Education at Northern Illinois University. His comprehensive treatise on the processes and structures for social change through participatory action research forms part of the growing body of literature on this disciplined informed inquiry. Contributor Raymond Familusi is a Nigerian national pursuing doctoral studies in Sociology at Michigan State University under Ruth Hamilton, Professor of Sociology. His work, signaling the dissatisfaction with the past and the hope for the future, maps the historical profile of the adult education enterprise in the United States encompassing the treatment of marginalized groups. The theme of agitation for social change is carried on in my article on African countries, where the portrayal of high rates of adult illiteracy that characterize the continent and corrodes national development at all levels is made self-evident. The contribution of Fan Zhang, a national from China who learned of the thrust of Adult and Lifelong Learning Research (ALLR) during his doctoral studies at Wayne State University, detoured from the technical interpretation of social change to share key findings on adult wage earnings and their relationship to educational accomplishments in an urban metropolitan center.

This work is a product of the Office of Adult and Lifelong Learning Research (ALLR), Interdisciplinary Studies Program, College of Lifelong Learning, Wayne State University. Supported through partnerships with the State of Michigan and other sponsors including the City of Detroit, the US Department of Education, and the United Way of America, ALLR has ushered in a new spirit of collaboration at four levels: a) promoted intercollegiate and interdisciplinary scholarship on adult education; b) fostered institutional cooperation with the state; c) improved linkages with the community through delivery of services in teacher training, formulation of degree programs, presentation of regular seminars on a disciplined inquiry in adult education; and d) fostered volunteerism among undergraduate students through credit-bearing courses in which students engaged in teaching basic skills to adult learners in the community.

This office aspires to serve as the central source at Wayne State University for the exchange of theory and practice in the field of adult learning and to take on challenges posed in a state where conflicting signals on adult education funding and policy implementation leave practitioners disillusioned and concerned.

OVERVIEW OF THE CHAPTERS

These chapters present viewpoints that offer the reader an opportunity for synthesis and conclusions about adult education paradigms. The first three papers are situated within an interdisciplinary context, drawing from politics, sociology and history to define constructs on the process of social change, while the other paper applies economic theory to wage earnings of adults in an urban metropolitan setting.

Mulenga's is concerned with the issue of social change and the democratic society. "How can education be used constructively to promote fairness and equality among the haves and have-nots?" "Should education be used to serve as one more element in the structures of control that maintain oppression and exploitation thereby excluding the underprivileged?" One way to counter this continuing neglect of the powerless and underprivileged class, he proposes, is via participatory research, otherwise known as action research or participatory action-research. While he spells out the total parameters of this model, there are counter arguments that limit interpretation. For him, participatory research is what "makes people subjects rather than objects" in the process and gives voice to their wisdom and world view, with an opportunity to proclaim popular knowledge as "legitimate knowledge."

Familusi's in-depth historical treatise of the adult education movement in the United States enlightens the reader about independent, and sometimes radical, social movements such as the Black Panther Party, the American Indian Movement, and the Weatherman. It is his intention to review the degree of contribution to social change within a political context by the construct of a typology that will centralize knowledge and lead to new insights into the literature.

Ntiri's universal literacy proposal for Africa has to confront major challenges within the political context. If it is not the multiplicity of community languages and which one to choose for pedagogical use, it is a debate over rapid population growth and the differences between urban and rural areas and between male and female literacy rates. These roadblocks are constituted within a model that advocates change. Literacy is ultimately a social construction that determines and is determined by a given social order. However, the attention given by the authorities mani-

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fests a certain lip service that is more detrimental than helpful to socioeconomic development.

Zhang's scope of economic research gives some interpretation to the decisions about the efficient allocation of human resources. He pinpoints an area of research whose findings present mainstream implications for the field of adult education. In a study of the relationship between education and earnings of adults and the subsequent distribution of educational opportunities, his findings establish what we already know, and that is that the greater the education, the greater the earnings in urban industrial-related occupations.

Overall, this product will engage the reader with a varied account of works that are important to the growing corpus of literature on adult education. The subject of social change, and how quickly to achieve it or how slowly it comes, seems to be a recurring theme for our writers who find themselves at different stages of their professional lives, yet engrossed with this as an academic pursuit. On our path to knowledge production and acquisition, the question often asked is, "How do we make the challenge of social change more achievable in the immediate future? Who will take charge of the redistribution of resources or opportunities to include the marginalized in democratic societies?"

WORD OF THANKS

The Office of Adult and Lifelong Learning Research (ALLR) expresses its appreciation to its major partner, the Michigan Department of Education, Office of Adult Extended Learning, for its continuing support of adult education in all its aspects in the University community and in the State. In spite of recent cutbacks that have almost crippled adult education activities in the metro Detroit area, the State continues to uphold our efforts to train and advance research and knowledge production for teachers, students, and practitioners. A word of thanks is also extended to the City of Detroit, the United Way of America, and the United States Government, who have provided support for special programs to promote teaching and learning for faculty, tutors, and students.

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IN FROM THE MARGINS:

CHALLENGES, POSSIBILITIES AND LIMITATIONS OF PARTICIPATORY RESEARCH

Derek Mulenga, Ph.D., Assistant Professor
Buffalo State College

Context

Many of us decided to study (adult) education because we thought it would give us skills and tools of analysis and teaching with which we could educate the poor, illiterate people and improve our society. We were appalled by the inequality, elitism, racism, and the poverty that surrounded us on all sides. We hoped to be able to study the "science" of teaching and learning and use education as a tool to bring about social change and a more democratic society.

Instead, upon entering graduate programs, many of us discovered that mainstream education has very little to do with social change. We discovered that we were being socialized to practice a "science" of education that treated knowledge as isolated, nonhistorical facts to be simply "deposited" into the minds of the students as a banker might deposit funds into a bank account. The emphasis was on learning the latest methods, techniques, and tests developed by curriculum, teaching, and learning "experts." Often the research we were required to do kept us chained to our desks and computers, in the ivory tower, and away from the "real people." We were discouraged from having any contact with people, including students whose lives we hoped to better.

On top of this, on completion of graduate training, and as we geared up to pursue careers in education, we found that we must compete for status in a highly hierarchical system to get a job and ensure our own survival and middle-class lifestyles. All too often, we had to compromise our original motivations in order to "make it" in the system. This became reflected in our research, which, while it may bear on such topics as educational inequality, does so from an abstract, disengaged vantage point. This is exacerbated by the way in which the system of education is financed. As even public universities become increasingly dependent on private capital, the salaries and research grants are more and more tied to maintaining, rather than challenging, the existing power relations.

There is reason to fear this situation may get worse rather than better. The current economic slump being experienced both in the Western, industrialized countries and more in the South[1] may lead to even more trimming of educational systems. And much like the response of education in the 1970s, more "applied" vocational education and training programs are being created in the 1990s to provide skilled workers and technicians for capital and state, or in political parlance, to become competitive in the global market. Indeed, the discipline of education is likely to emphasize anything but using education to press for democratic change and social justice.

In this way, education continues to be part of the problem rather than part of the solution. It becomes one more element in the structures of control that maintain oppression and exploitation. It sustains a class of professional experts and technocrats who are linked to those with power and who proclaim what is legitimate knowledge, thereby drowning out the popular knowledge of those who lack power in our societies. Participatory research (PR) tries to counter all of this.

In the following sections of this paper, I discuss the origins of participatory research, its various meanings and versions, its basic premises, its methodology, and some of the key issues and debates surrounding its practice.

I have drawn heavily on my work on the theory and practice of participatory research in Africa (forthcoming) and the recent work of Orlando Fals-Borda and Rahman (1991), Rahman (1993), Frieres (1992), and to a lesser extent on other recent discussions of participatory research by Tandon (1983, 1989), Kemmis and McTaggart (1988), Cancian and Armstead (1992), Hall (1993), and Park et al. (1993).

From the outset, it is important to stress that participatory research includes a diverse array of practices. Labels include "action research," "cooperative research," "collaborative research," "participatory action-research," and "participatory research." Like several writers such as Kemal Mustafa, Rajesh Tandon, and Budd Hall, who form the radical tradition of participatory research, I have chosen to use in this paper the label participatory research.

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[1] I have opted to use the term "South" to refer to the former colonial territories of Africa, Asia, and Latin America whose societies are peripheral and tied to the capitalist "North" through unequal and dependent relations of production and trade.

Origins and Antecedents of Participatory Research

In order to properly understand the nature of participatory research, it is important to briefly review its origins and antecedents. Contrary to popular claims by some writers from the South, I argue that while the term "participatory research" originated in the South, there were parallel, similar influences and developments in Europe and North America. For example, the rediscovery of critical theory through Habermas and Adorno in Europe, the work of Peter Park, Myles Horton, John Gaventa, and Ted Jackson in North America, and the work of Paulo Freire and later Orlando Fals Borda, and Francisco Vio Grossi in Latin America all contributed to the emergence of participatory research in the 1970s.

Hall (1981, 1993) claims that although the term participatory research may be new, the concerns being expressed and the ideas that are finding new opportunities for expression have a long history and continuity in the social sciences, and can be traced as far back as the early field work of Frederick Engles in factories of Manchester in the mid-nineteenth century.

Among others, Enyia (1983), Maguire (1987), Rahnema (1990), and Hall (1993) suggest that the emergence of participatory research can be linked to three trends and influences. These are the critique of imperialism and colonialism within the context of the discourse on development, the critique of the dominant positivist research paradigm, and the reframing of adult education as an empowering alternative to traditional educational approaches.

Critique of Imperialism, Colonialism and Underdevelopment

By the mid-'70s, the failed policies of over thirty years of top-down international development "aid" to the South came under scrutiny and criticism by radicals from both the North and South. This critique of mainstream development approaches was spurred partly by the work of such dependency theorists as Andre Gundar Frank (1973) and Celso Furtado (1973). Dependency theorists pointed out that unequal relationships of trade and investment between the technically advanced and the developing nations set up dominant-dependency relationships. Because of the inequitable patterns of capitalist accumulation, development in one part of the world is premised on and has generated underdevelopment in another. In Africa, this critique was led by such center-periphery theorists as Samir Amin, and the "Dar-es-Saalam Marxist Circle" consisting of Dan Wadada Nabuderi, Ali M. Babu, Issa Shivji, Yash Tandon, Mahmoud Mamdani and others.[2]

Reframing of Adult Education as an Alternative Approach

During this same period, both in the North and South, adult educators were criticizing traditional educational approaches and practices that nurtured social relations based on exploitation, dominance and oppression. Among this group, Paulo Freire emerged as the protagonist.

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[2] Some of the most important publications spearheading the critique of imperialism, colonialism and underdevelopment were:

Samir Amin. (1974). *Accumulation on a world scale: A critique of the theory of underdevelopment* (translated by B. Pierce). New York: Monthly Review Press.

Samir Amin. (1976). *Unequal development: An essay on the social formation of peripheral capitalism* (translated by B. Pearce). Hassocks, England: Harvester Press.

Issa Shivji. (1976). *Class struggles in Tanzania*. Dar-es-Saalam: Tanzania Publishing House.

Dan Nabudere. (1977). *The political economy of imperialism*. Dar-es-Salaam: Tanzania Publishing House.

Mahmood Mamdani. (1976). *Politics and class formation in Uganda*. New York: Monthly Review Press.

Yash Tandon (Ed.). (1982). *The debate on class, state and imperialism*. Dar-es-Salaam: Tanzania Publishing House.

Freire argued that education was not neutral; it was either for domination or for liberation. For Freire, the principal concerns of adult education are not pedagogical or methodological, but are related to its political application as a form of advocacy for oppressed social groups (Torres, 1992). In this sense, adult education constitutes a pedagogy for social transformation, a form of "cultural action" whose central objective is "conscientization." Freire emphasized the importance of critical consciousness or "concientizacao" as part of the "subjective conditions" for the project of social transformation (Freire, 1972, 1974). Freire popularized an alternative approach to investigation (*investigacion Tematica*) in which the researcher is a committed actor to "cultural action for conscientization." Similar alternative approaches were advanced by D'arcy de Oliviera (militant observation), and Orlando Fals-Borda and others in Colombia (*investigacion-y-accion*).

In Africa, the search for alternative models of development brought into sharp focus the role of education. Among others, Julius Nyerere of Tanzania argued for the full participation of man (the people) in his own development (Nyerere, 1973).[3] At about the same time, Marja Lissa-Swantz and others working on village-level projects in the Western Bagamoyo coastal region in Tanzania led to a rudimentary conceptualization of a village-centered research approach that they termed "participatory research approach."[4]

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[3] It is pertinent to note that a visit by Paulo Freire to Tanzania in 1972 provided a stimulus to many adult educators and social scientists to explore alternative approaches to education, research and development. See Freire, P. (1972). Creating alternative research methods: Learning to do it by doing it. *Seminar in adult education*, Institute of Adult Education, University of Dar-es-Salaam, Tanzania.

[4] For a detailed discussion of the origins and development of participatory research in Africa, see Mulenga, D. C. (forthcoming). Participatory research in Africa: A critical overview. In D. C. Mulenga (Ed.), *Knowledge, empowerment and social transformation: Participatory research in Africa*. London: ZED Books.

Critique of Positivist Research Paradigm

Along with the above critiques, in the field of research, there was intense reaction against the dominant positivist research paradigm. Social scientists working as development "experts" in the South became frustrated with the social science methods they were using in connection with their aid efforts. They found that the use of social science research methods, which privileged the "experts" who controlled the production and distribution of knowledge, went hand-in-hand with the imposition of a top-down, development model that was tied to the Eurocentric, imperialist, modernization paradigm engineered to dominate and exploit the newly emerging nations of the South.

Among others, Budd Hall, Orlando Fals-Borda, Rajesh Tandon, Francisco Vio Grossi, Marjorie Mbilinyi and Kemal Mustafa spurred this critique. It was also argued that the paradigm was developed in a cultural setting and a historical context that did make it useful in settings where the interpretation of reality must be linked to transforming that reality. Others have also pointed out that the paradigm monopolized the production and utilization of knowledge and placed it in the service of the emerging dominant classes and culture in the South. Furthermore, through various mechanisms and institutions, for instance schools and media, the knowledge was used to manage, control, and exploit the marginal and oppressed classes and nations (Tandon, 1982, 1989; Mulenga, forthcoming).

Hall (1981) and Tandon (1989) have argued that in contrast to the positivist paradigm, participatory research and people's knowledge sharpens their capacity to conduct their own research in their own interests. Participatory research helps people appropriate knowledge produced by the dominant knowledge apparatus for their own purposes, and allows problems to be explored from their perspective. And maybe most important, it liberates their minds for critical reflection, questioning, and the continuous pursuit of inquiry, thus contributing to the liberation of their minds to the development of freedom and democracy.

Equally important has been the feminist critique of the social sciences that follow the positivist paradigm. There are of course differences among feminist scholars in their understanding of how history, identity, position, and location affect and influence their ways of knowing. These scholars espouse different political and intellectual agendas for the liberation of women. But underlying these differences is the persistent voice that speaks for the importance of utilizing women's ways of knowing, which has been excluded from the domain of the rationality and sciences (Spender, 1978; Mies, 1983, 1993; Harding, 1986, 1992, 1993; Maguire, 1987; Code, 1992). This includes, among other things, knowledge embedded in gossiping, caring, collecting, and loving.[5]

What is Participatory Research?

Having provided a brief outline of the context in which participatory research emerged, I present below my understanding of participatory research, and basic differences among some versions that have emerged in the last two decades.

The term "participatory research"[6] was coined in the '70s and refers to an emancipatory approach to knowledge production and utilization. Its main aim is to actively involve oppressed and disenfranchised people in the collective investigation of reality in order to transform their reality. According to Hall (1981) and ICAE (1982), participatory research essentially consists of three interrelated processes.

First, it aims at promoting collective investigation of the problems and issues facing a community with the full and *active participation* of oppressed and ordinary people in the entire research process. Second, it is an educational process for both the researcher and the people who collectively analyze the causes of their problems through methods that are relevant and sensitive to the social and cultural context of the people. Finally, those who support participatory research encourage collective action by both parties aimed at short-term and long-term solutions to the problem (ICAE, 1982). The combination of the creation of knowledge about social reality with collective, concrete action to change that reality is perhaps the most unique aspect of participatory research (Hall, 1982).

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[5] I do not want to imply that this kind of knowledge is the exclusive property of women by reason of biology or ontology. The point is that this type of knowledge belongs to both men and women, and it should be reinstated and pursued as a form of legitimate knowledge.

[6] Marja Lissa-Swantz (1992, November). Interview with Marja Lissa-Swantz, Seattle, Washington, unpublished. Lissa-Swantz coined the term "participatory research approach" in the early '70s during her involvement in the Academy of Finland/Government of Tanzania bilateral project on the role of culture in national development.

The main short-term objective is to produce collective, locally-controlled knowledge that leads to action on problems directly and immediately affecting participants in the research process (ICAE, 1980). In other words, people themselves investigate the reality to transform it as active participants. It shares with traditional social science the goal of producing knowledge that would benefit humanity. However, participatory research distinguishes itself from traditional research in the specificity of social change goals it pursues, the utilization and modification of methods of collective investigation, the kinds of knowledge it produces, and the way it relates knowledge to social action (Park, 1989).

Finally, participatory research aims at empowering people, not only in the sense of being psychologically capacitated, but rather in the sense of being in power politically to effect needed social change (Mulenga, 1985; Park, 1989). Of course, this cannot be fully achieved in one or two projects. However, it is the ultimate goal of the logic of participatory research.

Versions of Participatory Research

Over the past two decades, various versions of participatory research have emerged. The generic term "participatory research" refers to versions of participatory research developed and popularized in the South, particularly Africa, Asia and Latin America, that emphasize political empowerment and is connected to the discourse on participatory development and popular peoples' struggles.[7] Paulo Freire (1972, 1974) emerged as the protagonist who popularized this version with his "*Investigacion Tematica*." Later on, Rajesh Tandon from India, Bud Hall from Canada, Marja Lissa-Swantz and Kemal Mustafa from Tanzania, Francisco Vio Grossi from Chile and others from the "Third World"[8] contributed to its wide acceptance in the 1980s.

In the South, participatory research developed within the context of a debate between two major camps: those who took a historical materialist position, and those who supported an idealist and social democratic political standpoint.[9] Among others, Kemal Mustafa, Ernest Wamba-dia-Wamba, and Deborah Bryceson were instrumental in articulating the former position in the African participatory research movement. On the other hand, Marja Lissa-Swantz, Yusuf Kassam, Rogate Mashana and others are associated with the latter position (Kassam & Mustafa, 1982; Mustafa, 1983; Mulenga, Mustafa, & Baynit, 1986; Swantz, 1992).

The school of thought that operates from the historical materialist standpoint considers class struggle and revolutionary social change as the basis for development. In sum, this version argues that there is an intellectual division of labor that mirrors relations of production. In these relations, knowledge is a social product of and serves the interests of the dominant, ruling class. Thus, there is a relationship between knowledge and power that facilitates the domination and exploitation of powerless classes. Through the participation of the marginal, powerless classes in a collective investigation of problems that affect them, the generation and control of knowledge becomes "democratized."

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[7] For a detailed discussion, see Rahnema, M. (1990). Participatory action research: The last "temptation of saint" development. *Alternatives, 15*, 199-226.

[8] The term "Third World" was invented in the context of the 1955 Bandung Conference and is often understood to have a patronizing connotation. I have opted to use the term "South" to refer to the former colonial territories of Africa, Asia, and Latin America whose societies are peripheral to and tied to the capitalist core through relations of exploitation.

[9] For example, in Africa, the philosophical differences arose during the early phases of the Jipemoyo project (1975 to 1985), and to distinguish between the two positions, the historical materialist group called their brand "historical materialist participatory research (HMPR), while the idealist group referred to their brand as "participatory research approach" (PRA). This clear-cut polarization of ideological and methodological positions was evident at the first African regional workshop held in July, 1970. At the time of the Second African Regional Workshop in July 1985, the Marxist (historical materialist) faction held sway in the African Participatory Research Network (APRN). This was reflected in the official brochure of APRN ("Introduction to Participatory Research"), and various publications from some of the key members (such as Kemal Mustafa).

According to the historical materialists, the main aim of participatory research should be to shift the control of the production and utilization of knowledge and the balance of power from the dominant, ruling class(es) to the popular, oppressed classes. Participatory research is perceived as representing one aspect of historical materialist practice, which involves ideological, political and economic action undertaken in furtherance of class struggle. While being one aspect of historical materialist practice, participatory research must struggle to be all-pervasive on every stage of the class struggle because of its strategic importance as a mode of appropriating knowledge in furtherance of the class struggle. Within the realm of historical materialist practice, participatory research can also be viewed as representing the general struggle to break down the social divisions between mental and manual labor. In some cases, it also represents the attempts to resolve the non-antagonistic contradictions among the people toward the construction of more democratic social structures. In these contexts, it works to prepare the "subjective factors" by raising political consciousness, and in this complements the class struggle (Mustafa, 1983).

By contrast, the idealist, pragmatic school of thought, which operates from the social democratic political standpoint, considers pragmatic reforms as the most that can be achieved by participatory research. This school works within the phenomenological tradition, and does not seriously questions the inherent, antagonistic class contradictions. For this school, there is a community of interests between the different classes. For example, participatory research among the peasants should not only involve the peasants in the learning process and thus offer a learning opportunity for peasants and researchers alike, but it should also incorporate the *various* classes at all levels in the collective investigation.

Participatory research is perceived as a method of training and investigation whose main role is to enhance the cooperation and "participation" by the community. Pragmatists have been criticized that by insisting on a community of interests between various classes, they place participatory research in the service of neocolonialism in the same way that "participant observation" was previously in the service of colonialism (Mulenga, Mustafa, & Baynit, 1986).

Within the Latin American context, Freire (1972, 1974) was among the first radicals to popularize a version of participatory research. Central to Freire's version is conscientization that is conceived as a strategy in the liberation of the oppressed peoples. He refers to those employing the strategy as revolutionaries rather than researchers. These revolutionaries in collaboration with the oppressed peoples engage in cultural action in opposition to a dominating power and/or cultural revolution under a revolutionary regime. The revolutionaries' political activism is conceived as democratic in the form of guiding:

> The fundamental role of those committed to cultural action for conscientization is not properly speaking to fabricate the liberating ideas, but to invite the people to grasp with their minds the truth of reality.[10]

A similar version was proposed by de Oliveira and de Oliveira (1975). Called "militant observation," this version supplements the technique of dialogue central to Freire's conscientization with more socially relevant methods of collective investigation (Kassam & Mustafa, 1982). Reference is to the researcher, not revolutionary, although the context of the research process is depicted as revolutionary. As such, the researcher's role is to actively politicize in a more pedagogical manner. The researcher then becomes both the observer and militant and has the goal of furthering the struggle of the researched (who are often the marginalized or oppressed).

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[10] Freire, P. (1974). *Cultural action for freedom.* Middlesex: Penguin, p. 76.

In the early 1970s another version of participatory research surfaced called "participatory action research," which has three closely related but distinct models. The first one has been associated and popularized by Stephen Kemmis and Robin McTaggart of Deakin University in Australia, and Timothy Pyrch (1990, 1991) at the University of Calgary. According to Pyrch (1991, p. 1), participatory action research is an "interdis-ciplinary methodology enabling people to take control of their lives by combining formal and informal knowledge, and using that new knowledge to transform their realities." This version is essentially connected to the action-research tradition of Kurt Lewin and has also drawn on critical theory, particularly that of Jurgens Habermas.

The second model is associated with the work of Orlando Fals-Borda and Anisur Rahman, and the work of the United Nations Institute for Social Development (UNRISD).[11] According to Rahman (1991, p. 13), the basic ideology of participatory action-research (PA-R) "is that self-conscious people, those who are currently poor and oppressed, will progressively transform their environments by their own praxis. In this process, others may play a catalytic and supportive role but will not dominate." Fals-Borda and Rahman (1991, p. vii) place PA-R firmly within the long tradition of liberationist movements:

> Those who adopted PA-R have tried to practice with a radical commitment that has gone beyond usual institutional boundaries, reminiscent of the challenging tradition of Chartists, utopians, and other social movements of the nineteenth century.

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[11] See Matthias Stiefel and Marshall Wolfe. (1984). *The quest for participation.* (UNRISD mimeographed report). Geneva: UNRISD. p. 12. UNRISD popularized the participatory action research approach under its "popular participation" program. According to UNRISD, "the central issue in popular participation has to do with power, exercised by some people, and by some classes over other classes ..." Participation is viewed "as an encounter between the excluded and those social forces, values, and ideologies that maintain their exclusion."

Similarly, the brochure for PRIA, the Society for Participatory Research in Asia states that "participatory research implies an effort on the part of the people to understand the role of knowledge as a significant instrument of power and control" (PRIA, nd). Thus, the primary task of PA-R is the "enlightenment and awakening of common peoples" (Fals-Borda & Rahman, 1991, p. vi). Given this orientation, the PA-R tradition starts with concerns for power and powerlessness, and aims to confront the way in which the established and power-holding elements of societies worldwide are favored because they hold a monopoly on the definition and employment of knowledge. Concerns for epistemology and methodology appear secondary to this primary concern.

A second important starting point is the lived experience of people, and the idea that through the actual experience of something we may "intuitively apprehend its essence; we feel, enjoy, and understand it as reality" (Fals-Borda & Rahman, 1991, p. 4). Thus, in PA-R the knowledge and experience of people—often oppressed groups—is directly honored and valued.

A close reading of the literature revealed that the PA-R strategy has a double objective. The first one is to produce knowledge and action directly useful to marginalized and oppressed people through collective research and sociopolitical action. The second objective is to empower people at a second and deeper level through the process of constructing and using their own knowledge: they "see through" the ways in which the establishment monopolizes the production and use of knowledge for the benefit of its members.

A third important starting point for participatory research is authentic commitment. PA-R values for processes of genuine collaboration which it sees as "rooted in cultural traditions of the common people...which are resplendent with feelings and attitudes of an altruistic, cooperative and communal nature and which are genuinely democratic."[12] Those agents of change who initiate PA-R processes among oppressed peoples must embrace a genuine commitment to work with these democratic values and to honor the wisdom of the people. A key notion here is dialogue, because it is through dialogue that the subject/object relationship of traditional science gives way to a subject/subject relationship. Through dialogue the academic knowledge of formally educated people works in a dialectical tension with the popular knowledge of the people to produce a more profound understanding of the situation.

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[12] Fals-Borda & Rahman, op. cit., p. 5.

Early studies using this model were conducted in Colombia between 1979 and 1986 by Orlando Fals-Borda. More recently, similar studies involving teams of researchers led by Fals-Borda and Rahman and sponsored by the International Labor Office (ILO) were conducted in various regions of Latin America.[13] In my view, this interpretation of participatory research is much closer to that of "participatory research" found in Africa and Asia.

Another variation of the above participatory action research model was developed by Poona Wagnaraja.[14] From about 1978, Wagnaraja (1987) experimented with participatory action research through three interrelated research programs sponsored by the United Nations Asian Institute, the United Nations University and the Society for International Development. The programs were concerned with people's movements and grassroots experiments in South Asia. According to Wagnaraja (1987, p. 12), participatory action research was defined as:

> a method for social mobilization and conscientization which involves (a) awareness creation, (b) socio-political action and (c) research in order to produce scientific knowledge with and for people and people's groups. Its final aim is to build people's power and enhance life.

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[13] See Orlando Fals-Borda. (1987). *Knowledge and people's power: Lessons with the peasants in Nicaragua, Colombia, and Mexico*. New Delhi: The Indian Social Institute.

[14] See Wagnaraja, P. (1987). Ten years with participatory action research in South Asia--Lessons for NGOs and people's organizations. *African Participatory Research Network Newsletter*, *2*, 9-15.

More recently, Whyte (1991) has advanced a third model of participatory action research (PAR). Whyte (1991) defines participatory action research as applied research in which some organization or community members participate in the research process but do not necessarily take part in the implementation of action. As can be seen from this definition, unlike Fals Borda's "participatory action-research" (PA-R), Whyte's definition is largely drawn from the organizational development literature, and portrays a depoliticized process of collaborative labor-management reflection. Power and its relationship to knowledge is not central. Although it is connected to the Lewinian tradition of action research in America, Whyte's PAR has also been influenced by the work on sociotechnical systems in industry, and by work democracy research in Norway.[15]

Last, there were recent attempts to develop a variation of participatory research called transformative research.[16] Deshler and Selener (1991, p. 3) define transformative research as "research that is ethical, emancipatory, empowering and holistic in both its implementation and use of results." A major outcome of the 1988 Leeds Conference was the establishment of a Transformative Research Network. Unfortunately, since its emergence in the late 1980s, transformative research seems to have had very little impact, and indeed, apart from the *Convergence*,[17] no significant publications on the subject have appeared.

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[15] I was initially surprised to find that Whyte's (1991) book, *Participatory action research*, did not refer to other works using a similar label such as Fals Borda and Rahman (1991), and several other works on participatory research in the USA by Peter Park, John Gaventa, and Don Comstock. I now suspect that this apparent omission by Whyte and others was meant to promote an *apolitical* version of participatory research, co-opt it, into the mainstream (American) action research tradition.

[16] The concept of transformative research emerged from discussions among a group of more than 50 adult education researchers mainly from Europe, Canada, and the United States, following the Transatlantic Dialogue Conference held at Leeds University, England in July 1988. In my opinion, much of what tranformative research attempts to achieve (for example, emancipation and empowerment of the oppressed), are already embodied in participatory research, at least as understood in Africa. The issue is, are we trying to re-invent the wheel? Or, is it a subtle process of repackaging and appropriating participatory research for the Western academic market?

Methodology

Although there are numerous examples of participatory research practice within the literature, the literature is vague on the questions of methodology and methods[18] (Fernandes & Tandon, 1981, Mustafa, 1983; Maguire, 1987; Hall, 1981, 1993). Evidently there are no methodological orthodoxies, and no cookbook approaches to follow. For participatory research, the most important factors are the origin of the issues, the roles that those concerned with the issues play in the process, the emersion of the process in the context of the situation, the potential for mobilizing and collective learning, the links to action, the understanding of how power relations work and the potential for communications with others experiencing similar discrimination or oppression. In addition, since participatory research is based on the epistemological assumption that knowledge is constructed socially, group and collective analysis of social reality and life experiences of power and knowledge are most appropriate (Hall, 1993). Approaches, methods and techniques are selected and used because of their potential to draw out knowledge in a collective way.

While noting the impossibility of constructing a generalized participatory research model, I have identified five phases that seem to be common to actual participatory research process (Tandon & Fernandes, 1981; Vio Grossi et al., 1983; Maguire, 1987). Note that while collective investigation, education and action appear to occur sequentially, these activities and phases can occur in a variety of combinations and in an iterative way. Also, different participatory research processes and projects put different emphases on the three activities.

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[17] See Beder, H., & Mulenga, D. C. (Eds.). (1991). Transformative Research (Special issue). *Convergence, 24*(3).

[18] It is important to note the distinction between technique, method, approach and methodology. A technique is defined as a means for appropriating information, whereas a method refers to techniques for gathering empirical evidence. An approach refers to the mode of appropriating information. A methodology is a theory of knowledge and the interpretive framework that guides a particular inquiry. Thus, the axis of any methodology is its conception of reality and the causal effect that provides the foundation for the production and justification of new knowledge. See Harding (1987), and Bryceson, Manicon and Kassam (1982).

Phase One

Any participatory research process starts with a concrete problem arising from the people affected by it, and whose interests demand its solution. The problem has to be social in nature and calling for collective solution; otherwise there is no participatory exigency. Often, outside intervention, for example researchers and extension workers, are invited to help pose and formulate the problem(s). The initial phase includes gathering and analyzing information about the research area and about the problems people face. This involves getting to know the community personally and "scientifically" by obtaining information through records, interviews, and observations and participating in the life of the community. It also includes establishing relationships with various sections of the community, the leadership and community institutions. The purpose(s) of the project/process has to be explained, and it is crucial that the people actively participate. The outside researcher essentially plays the role of facilitator, organizer and technical resource.

Phase Two

The second phase involves defining and formulating the problems. This includes getting the community to collectively discuss the problems, delimiting the scope and sorting out the dimensions to be explored. Often the "naming the problem" process is complex due to, among other things, such cultural barriers as taboos, gender inhibitions, sense of fatalism, and sense of shame and indifference. At this state, such innovative methods as popular theater (Mwansa, 1991) have been used to problematize the issues.

Phase Three

The third stage attempts to link the participants' immediate individual interpretations of the problems to the broader context, including the causes of social and structural conditions of social reality. The external agent plays the role of triggering awareness of the people's resources, and abilities for mobilization and action (Maguire, 1987). This stage also includes the development and focusing of questions and themes for investigation. It requires considerable time as well as personal and political skills.

Phase Four

Having defined the key problems and themes, the community must decide how to collect and analyze the information. The role of the external researcher is to present methodological options that can be used, explaining the logic, efficacy, and limitations of each method. It is important to use a language accessible to the community. This activity serves two purposes. First, it enables the people to carry out the investigation, so that they can answer the questions themselves that are derived from their problems. Second, it serves to demystify research methodology and put it in the hands of the people so that they can use it as a tool of empowerment. Finally, this stage also involves mapping and agreeing on procedures for data collection and analysis.

In principle, participatory research uses both qualitative and quantitative methods, but eschew certain methods that dictate separation of the subject from the object of research. Dialogue is crucial, not only at this stage, but throughout the process (Part, 1989; Maguire, 1987). During the actual data collection process, the people actively participate. This task is often preceded by some kind of "research" training for the people, at least to the extent of helping inexperienced persons feel comfortable and competent with the role of "researcher." The data collected are analyzed with the intention of discovering dimensions of collective action. Simple, meaningful statistics such as means, median, and percentage may be used.

Phase Five

The final phase includes the definition and organization of collective action. Since participatory research is a form of interactive and critical action, it is artificial to separate generation and utilization. The results from the data analysis can be used to organize collective actions to be taken, shape social policies, and implement social change. It is vital that the framing of collective actions be done by the people. The external researcher facilitates the definition of immediate and external resources, constraints, and linkages between the community and outside agencies and organizations. For long-term sustainability of the process, it is important to negotiate and build alliances with progressive political organizations and social movements (Mulenga, in preparation).

The Question of Methods

A major issue of participatory research relates to its methods and techniques of collective investigation, analysis and action (Bryceson, Manicon, & Kassam, 1982, Hall, 1993). In its basic expression, participatory research is a methodology for an alternative system of knowledge production based on the people's role in setting the agendas, participating in data gathering and analysis, and controlling outcomes (Mulenga, 1985; Tandon, 1989). Contrary to popular belief, both quantitative and qualitative methods have been used in participatory research. However, participatory research distinguishes itself from orthodox research by its focus on social change goals and the utilization and modification of methods in such a way that they promote the production of collective knowledge through collective investigation and critical analysis by groups and individuals. An important condition is that the methods are appropriate to local, cultural, and economic circumstances. Every effort should be made to ensure that the methods complement rather than supplant indigenous forms of expression, communication, discussion and decision-making.

Furthermore, in keeping with its emphasis on democratizing knowledge production and utilization, the actual aspects that in orthodox research would be called research design, data gathering, data analysis and so on, take second place to the emergent process of collective investigation and analysis through methods such as dialogue that enhance the people's capacity to make decisions and have control over their lives. As de Roux (1991, p. 44) points out, the methods must

> be capable of releasing the people's pent-up knowledge, and in doing so liberate their hitherto stifled thoughts and voices, stimulating creativity and developing their analytical and critical capabilities...[and] at the emotional level, the process had to be capable of releasing feelings, of tearing down the participants' internal walls in order to free up energy for action.

Several different methods and activities are employed in the participatory research process (ICAE, 1982). The methods used serve several purposes: to promote the production of collective knowledge with the sense of community control and ownership of the information; to promote collective analysis so that the community can fully and confidently examine its reality; to promote the building of relationships between personal and structural problems; and to develop the ability of the community to link reflection and collective action, and the capacity to continue the participatory research and developmental process.

Group discussion and its variations are the most widely used method in participatory research (ICAE, 1982; Mduma, 1982; Kraai, MacKenzie, & Youngman, 1982; Mustafa, 1983; Hope & Timmel, 1984). They occur throughout the process, and are often used together with other methods. They have the advantage of facilitating participation through dialogue, and, if properly used, they enhance reflection.

Public meetings are another popular method used in participatory research. They are often general open meetings in which all members of a community or constituency participate. Public meetings have been used in participatory research to serve several purposes. These include: obtaining and maintaining people's approval and support of the participatory research project; informing the people about the research as it progresses; and providing an opportunity for the people to contribute to the design and implementation of the project (ICAE, 1982; Mustafa, forthcoming).

The use of research teams has also proved effective in promoting participation. Kraai, MacKenzie, and Youngman (1982) and Mulenga et al. (1986) give examples of how research teams comprised of agricultural extension workers, nurses and university-based researchers worked together with members of local communities to analyze problems facing the communities and draw up a program of collective action to solve problems. Other examples of research teams used in participatory research include the reserve water supply and sewage disposal project in the remote Northern Big Trout Indian Reservation in Ontario, Canada (Jackson, 1980), and quality of work life project in Norway (Levin, 1980).

Popular theater or theater-for-development is one of the more innovative methods gaining popularity as a method of adult education as well as participatory research (Mwansa, in preparation, Chambulikazi, in preparation; Malamah-Thomas, 1988). The media used for performances have been mainly drama, puppetry, poetry, song and dances. Performances usually take place in the open air and use the local language. Audience participation in singing and dancing is encouraged, and after the performance the audience is invited to discuss the issues raised and consider action to solve the problems highlighted. Kidd (1978), Byram (1978), Mwansa (1982) and many others have written extensively about the use of popular theater in Africa.

The use of community seminars in participatory research projects has also gained popularity in recent years (Mustafa, 1982; Mulenga, 1984). The main advantage of community seminars is that they facilitate intensive discussion around focused themes and, depending on who is invited to participate, they can provide a useful forum for resolving community problems and resolutions for future actions. Mustafa (1982), writing about the role of culture in development, describes a community seminar held in Msata district, Tanzania that brought together government officials, community leaders, villagers and researchers to discuss development problems facing the region. As a result of the seminar, participants were able to learn from craftsmen, women, pastoralists, local historians, musicians and dancers about existing skills in the region and their potential for development.

Other methods include open-ended surveys (Gaventa, 1980; Belamide, 1980), educational camps (Kanhare, 1980), and fact-finding tours (Jackson, 1980). In a comprehensive study of the development and application of participatory research methods in developing countries, Enyia (1983, p. 262) found "limited use of imported educational media such as radio, audio tapes, cassettes, video tapes, and television as delivery systems...Some of the projects placed heavy emphasis on the utilization of traditional and cultural media." Enyia (1983) concluded that, although the emphasis has legitimacy and encourages self-reliance and independence, modern educational media should be used to enhance learning with participatory research methods where the rural people can afford to use and maintain them.

A word of caution should be offered about the use of the above methods in participatory research. In a given participatory research process or project, several of these methods may be used over a period of time. They may be employed in rural community settings, urban community halls, homes, formal settings such as schools, colleges or universities, traditional gathering sports or workplaces. Whatever the case, it is important for the oppressed and exploited people, who may be part of the "culture of silence" brought about by centuries of oppression, to be able to use methods that help them to find ways of reclaiming "their voice" and thus be able to tell their history (Salazar, 1991). This emphasis, as observed above, does not mean that "orthodox" methods of data gathering and analysis cannot be used. What is important is how the methods are used and that they promote genuine participation, control and empowerment of and by the people using them (Mulenga, 1984; de Roux, 1991; Hall, 1993).

Issues and Debates

Since the 1970s, there have been intense and controversial debates surrounding the practice of participatory research. In the following section, I discuss some of the key issues that seem to be central to the discourse.

The Meaning and Nature of Participation

Generally, debates on the nature of participation have focused on a distinction between "authentic participation" and "involvement." McTaggart (1980) focused on such specific areas as communication, access, basic needs, and decentralization (Rahnema, 1992), and people's power (Stiefel & Wolfe, 1984).[19]

Within the context of the debates of participatory research, both the two dominant groups (the pragmatists and the Marxists) agreed that participation was desirable. However, they differed on several counts. Critics of the former group argued that the notion of participation was central to both "participant observation" and participatory research (Mustafa, 1986). The reason was that within the pragmatist version participatory research, there was no real democratic interaction between the researchers and the researched. A distance was maintained between the two because, in line with positivistic research methodology, the researched were "out there," "in the field," as (mere) "objects of research." As mere "objects" they could not be equal partners and the research became one of those instances where the dominant groups gathered information about the oppressed. This information was then used to manipulate and control them and make them "receptive" to policies and programs brought to them from outside and above.[20]

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[19] People's power is defined as belonging to the oppressed and exploited classes and groups and their organizations, and the defense of their just interests to enable them to advance toward shared goals of social change within a participatory political system. This notion of "participation as and for people's power" is implicit in the *radical versions* of participatory research in Africa, Asia and Latin America. The differences arise on basis of what is meant by "people" (which group or class) and "power" (what type and how to achieve it).

In contrast, the Marxists argued that in a research situation the class relationship between the researcher and the researched had to be taken into consideration. Furthermore, the existence of different class interests had to be acknowledged in the research undertaking. Mustafa (1986, p. 20) points out that, "in this context, historical materialism never needed the concept of 'fieldwork' nor of 'participation,' because it started among the oppressed people not 'out there' but 'right here.'"

Furthermore, the pragmatists view participation as incorporating *all* the various segments of a community. In other words, they see a community of interests between researchers, peasants, workers, and so on, and participatory research is seen as a method that can enhance this participation of the people.

In practice, these two dominant views of "participation" tended to be associated with two key constituencies. The pragmatist view was usually associated with the development expert approach, and the outsiders (that is, the development worker, researcher or planners) defined and set the objectives of development, and were *actually* the only ones who participated in what should be done; the people served only as objects—as "human resources" to be developed.

The Marxist (and postmarxist) view was associated with a small group of activists on the "left" who admitted that although their knowledge was superior in certain technical terms, it remained irrelevant if the people themselves did not regard it useful to their own ends (Rahnema, 1990).[21]

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[20] Although Mustafa (1983, 1986) stands out as the spokesperson for the Marxist group in Africa , a similar point is raised by such other participatory research activists as Orlando Fals Borda (1979).

[21] Rahnema (1990) argues that in its most generalized form, the call for participation is naive, and that participatory research (as "the last temptation of saint development") can at best only change external factors affecting people's lives and not the deeper conditioning that causes people to do what they do.

The Issue of Power

Generally, all major factions (or schools of thought) agree that participatory research should contribute to the process of empowerment or the shifting of political power to those groups who have been marginalized. Participatory research can do this in three possible ways. First, participatory research can contribute to the process of disindoctrination that allows people to detach themselves from the myths imposed upon them by the power structures that have prevented them from understanding their own oppression and seeing the possibilities of breaking free (Vio Grossi, 1981; Hall, 1993).

Second, participatory research can contribute to the creation of what Fals Borda called "people's science," a science that serves the people and no longer perpetuates the status quo (Fals Borda, 1980). The process of "people's science," involves: 1) returning information to the people in the language and cultural form in which it originated; 2) establishing control of the work by popular and base movements; 3) popularizing research techniques; 4) integrating the information as the base of the organic intellectual; 5) maintaining a conscious effort in the action/reflection rhythm of work; 6) recognizing science as part of everyday lives of all people; and 7) learning to listen (Hall, 1993).

Third, participatory research can contribute to the process of *organizing for action*. This means building alliances and strengthening links with progressive sectors and social movements (Wamba-dia-Wamba, forthcoming). This is particularly important under the prevailing conditions in Africa in which the neocolonial state has retreated or collapsed, and Structural Adjustment Programs (SAP) under the "new world economic order," are pauperizing most countries.[22]

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[22] Structural Adjustment Programs are imperial policies imposed on the World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF) on several African countries, and are really intended to restructure African economies in line with the imperatives of the advanced capitalist countries.

The Issue of Co-Optation and Institutionalization

There have been concerns raised by a growing constituency of participatory research activists in the South that the terminology of "participatory research" has been applied to their work indiscriminately by liberal practitioners, development funding organizations, and academics from the North. Many participatory research practitioners, particularly from Africa, have objected to this.

Some have argued that it is yet another attempt to reduce participatory research to a "bag of techniques," and co-opt it into the dominant Western ideology of technical rationality. Some have also pointed out that it is an attempt to make the participatory research approach apolitical, and rid it of its radical assumptions and ideology. Third, with its growing acceptance as an alternative research methodology, there has been a tendency by some academics to repackage and institutionalize participatory research as a "research method" for their mushrooming cottage industries or qualitative/ethnographic skills courses. Finally, the co-option of the concept of *people's participation* as part of the official jargon of most development funding organizations (including the United Nations agencies) has led, in part, to the reduction of concepts such as "participatory development" and "participatory action research" into amoeba or plastic words that mean nothing and everything. Since they are often severed from the context in which they originally belonged, they are easily manipulated to serve the interests of the agencies. As a colleague aptly summed up the danger:

> Participatory research as applied by most of these development funding organizations is used as a sugar coating to ensure that their bitter programs/projects are swallowed by the poor and desperate people. In most cases, through a variety of subtle "program requirements and procedures," these organizations not only retain control over the programs/projects but negate the very process of *people's participation*.[23]

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[23] Interview with Anil Chaudry, July 12, 1989, University of Leeds.

The Feminist Critique

It has been demonstrated that women generally have been excluded from producing dominant forms of knowledge and that *the social sciences have not been not only a science of male society but a male science of society* (Callaway, 1981). It has been suggested that feminist critiques of research are particularly relevant to the understanding and practice of participatory research in two important ways. First, both feminist approaches and participatory research are concerned with the creation of knowledge in ways that empower those engaged. Second, both participatory research and feminist research seek to decenter the production and utilization of knowledge (hooks, 1984; Narayan, 1989).

However, some feminist scholars such as Maguire (1987) have pointed out what she calls the "androcentric filter" in participatory research writings. Maguire observed that there was a distinct silence around gender and women in the participatory research discourses, and that "women's ways of knowing" were not mentioned until 1981.

Although there was always a "small" group of feminists within the participatory research and adult education movements in the South, their voices and work were largely ignored and marginalized.[24] This is supported by preliminary findings of a study in progress (Mulenga, forthcoming) that indicates that in Africa, less than 20% of both the active members and authors of reports/publications of and on participatory research were female. Furthermore, although complete information regarding the participation and status of women in reported participatory research activities is not available, the study suggests that women and their issues were literally absent. This is collaborated by the literature on participatory research (Maguire, 1987; Mbilini, 1982; Alloo, 1992).

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[24] Gender studies "took off" in Africa in the mid-'70s, depending at first on "self-help" efforts of women researchers, scholars and activists working in universities and other institutions. Although the number of African women scholars multiplied in the first 20 years after political independence, only a small number of *indigenous* African women specialized in gender studies. Most of the early "feminists" were European, White, middle-class women, whose views were limited by their locations in society.

Other studies also found that the voices of women and/or women participants in the reported case studies were generally unheard or absent (Alloo, 1992). Women were often invisible, submerged or hidden. Gender was usually rendered indistinguishable by such terms as "the people," "the peasants," "the villagers," or simply "the oppressed" (Mulenga, 1984; Masisi, 1982, Swantz, 1982, Mustafa, 1982). Only by a careful reading of the case studies (for example, the Jipemoyo project) or by reading several accounts of the same project did it become apparent that most projects were dominated by men or marginalized women, yet the benefits were generalized to the whole "community."

Only a few case studies referred specifically to women's exclusion or marginalization within the participatory research activities (Mustafa, 1982; Mduma, 1982). Because women were often excluded from or silenced in community forums or meetings, their perceptions and definitions of local problems were ignored, and as a result they were denied access to the "community" benefits of the projects.

Mbilinyi (1992) also has noted that even in all women's projects, some voices are more likely to be heard than others due to differences in position, location and privilege. For instance, educated and professional women tend to have easier access to information and communication media, and thus are more able to articulate their views and experiences than are rural, poor women.

Other studies also indicate that in most case studies there were indications of male-centered language, unequal access for women in project participation, and inadequate attention to obstacles of women's participation (Alloo, 1992; TAMWA, 1992). It was also found that gender issues were generally excluded from the agenda of the African Participatory Research Network.[25] The hidden message is that only men do or can do participatory research in Africa.

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[25] This was clearly evident during the 1985 second African regional workshop in Arusha, Tanzania, and gender-related issues were absent from the resolutions passed at the end of the workshop. See D. C. Mulenga, K. Mustafa, and W. Baynit (Eds.). *Report of the second African regional workshop on participatory research.*

This gender blindness in participatory research raises questions regarding its efficacy as an approach for the social emancipation and transformation of oppressive social structures. Given the fact that women bear the burden of doing "housework," child and family care, as well as most of the work related to agricultural production (Mbilinyi, 1992), one might wonder whether women view "emancipation" and "transformation" differently than men. It would seem that while the pundits of participatory research claim that its aim is to break the monopoly of knowledge creation by traditional social science research, a growing body of evidence in Africa suggests that participatory research is colluding with the monopoly of the dominant, male-centered positivistic research in marginalizing women in knowledge production and utilization.

The Role of the University

How do we reconcile the fact that participatory research aims at producing "popular" knowledge from "the margins," and yet many of those who publish in Africa are university-based? I believe that as long as the research process is *genuinely and organically* linked to "the margins," we need not be afraid that the knowledge thus produced will be used for purposes that "the margins" do not need or wish for. The problem is that there are different uses of knowledge in the academy.

For the academy, knowledge is a commodity—it is the means of exchange for the academic political economy (Hall, 1993). Advancement is achieved through publications, and collaborative research is discouraged mainly because of the difficulty in attributing authorship. These structural pressures play havoc with academic engagement in participatory research. What then is the role for university-based academics in participatory research? Should participatory research be taught in universities?

I believe that academics can be involved in participatory research processes on the understanding that the marginal groups who invite them set up specific conditions at the start and maintain control of the process.

Participatory research should be taught in universities. The academic community needs to discuss and challenge and be challenged by these and other ideas that raise questions about the role of knowledge and power. Teachers, adult educators, primary health care workers and countless others who seek a university education deserve to be exposed to the ideas that make up participatory research.[26]

Conclusion

In the foregoing sections, I have mapped out what I consider to be the main components of participatory research. I have argued that the two main goals of participatory research are: the democratization of knowledge production and utilization, and the creation of processes and structures that counter oppression in all its forms and the bringing about of democratic social change. We need to recognize that communities lacking power have research needs also, often completely at odds with those in power. We also need to realize that members of communities not only have "popular knowledge," a vast store of knowledge and experience generated in their struggles against nature and in society, but are capable of "doing research." This popular knowledge, which is part of popular culture, is typically denied and often dismissed by the establishment and its army of "the experts."

Participatory research attempts to engage marginalized groups and communities in research, making them subjects rather than objects in the process, and aims at "giving voice" to their wisdom and world view, treating their "popular knowledge" as legitimate knowledge. In this sense, participatory research helps the powerless to reclaim their "right to know," and tackle their problems with the knowledge they create.

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[26] Since 1991, I have been involved in "teaching" graduate level courses on participatory research. I have found that it provides a useful context in which to "introduce" students to the discourse on the political economy of knowledge production and utilization.

Participatory research aims, at least its radical expression, at bringing about democratic social transformation. The idea here is to link participatory knowledge creation to individual and community empowerment. Often this means "acting locally while thinking globally," helping to build neighborhood or community self-help efforts (what Rahman (1993) calls "people's self development") that not only reduce the people's dependence on the material and cultural goods and services controlled by capital, the state and the powerful classes, but that expose the macro structures of exploitation and domination. In other words, participatory research should not just lead to community empowerment, but contribute to the reconstruction of a genuine, democratic and just global society.

I wish to emphasize that participatory research is educational. Its purpose is to bring about critical awareness by helping "ordinary folk" learn how their problems are shaped by macro social institutions and structures that act in concrete and systemic ways at the community level. This is where educated professionals have a role to play. Because we have an understanding of the "bigger picture," the larger system and its dynamics, we can share this with the marginalized and powerless communities. This is one of the major challenges of participatory research.

Finally, I want to point out that doing participatory research involves embracing and relearning community and self-help values—values that are the antithesis of the individualistic, elitist, capitalist, competitive culture in which we have been schooled. Obviously, this is a compelling moral challenge to overcome. However, I believe that, more than ever before, "the hour has come" for participatory research. I believe that participatory research has come in from the margins, and is moving into the center.

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Adult Education and Social Change:

Toward a Typology of USA Adult Education

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Introduction

There is a clear relationship, historically and theoretically, between the concepts of adult education and social change in the United States. The nature of this relationship is complex, involving a diverse array of opinions, practices, and understandings. Definitions of what constitutes adult education are marked by conflicting ideological and theoretical perspectives. Theories of social change are both the consequence and the source of political and ideological divisions. While the lens of social change provides a specific, and perhaps primary, focus for understanding the emergence and practice of adult education in the United States, it simultaneously deepens the complexity and heightens controversy over what is or what ought to be adult education.

"Social change" is ambiguous, and the varying manner in which it is employed is characteristic of current debates and divisions over the practices and purposes of contemporary adult education. It encompasses both the idea of ongoing economic, political and social changes in society (evolutionary, conservative) and the idea of social movements to introduce changes into society (conflict, reform). It is both a descriptive and a normative concept and often used interchangeably or without explicit recognition of normative underpinnings. It may refer to reactive programs of social conservation, to address social "problems," for example, as well as progressive programs of intervention, to address social inequalities at a structural level—while either use of the concept can be further divided into different notions of what constitutes the "social" and how change may or may not occur.

On the other hand, "adult education" may refer to formal education or nonformal education or both (and I would suggest that structured and non-structured forms of education offer a similar ambiguity). Depending on how "adult" is defined, and to which of the above types of education it is related, adult education may be the largest sphere of education programming currently occurring in the United States or a rather marginal subset of education. Either way, the role of the state in influencing and structuring various forms of adult education programs is a central issue in current discussions regarding the nature of adult education in the

United States. It is also important, therefore, that attempts to define the distinctiveness of the education component of adult education adequately distinguish between learning and education, rather than, as is often the case, collapsing distinctions between agency and structure in adult education. As Jarvis (1986) notes, the distinction between learning and education "is sociologically very significant since learning concentrates upon agency and education upon structure" (p. 23).

Clearly, the concept of adult education does not in itself provide clues as to why or how it emerged as a field of practice, bur requires social interpretation and explication. Analysts, however, bring to this interpretation and explanation theoretical perspectives about society. They bring their values and beliefs and are themselves situated within particular ideological and historical contexts. It "has to be borne in mind that the analyst is a part of the social process under investigation and will, consequently, also inevitably hold views about it, views that will affect the analysis" (Jarvis, 1986, p. 25). From this perspective, then, the investigation of social phenomena is inherently subjective in that any investigation of the emergence of a particular social phenomenon in society necessarily relies partially upon the theory of society (implicitly or explicitly) held by the analyst. This is not so much a comment on the purported "scientific" validity of social analysis, as it is a comment on the nature of the phenomena under analysis. Understanding that the social analyst is herself situated within the field of analysis, one is better able to understand that a historical and social investigation of the relationship between "social change" and "adult education" is often a foray into multiple and overlapping narratives and competing ideological and normative world views. Therefore, understanding adult education as a practice in the United States requires placing adult education theory and practice within the context of institutional and social forms that have come to comprise and reflect the historical development of the United States of America.

It is neither the purpose nor intent of this paper to provide a comprehensive theory of the development and role of adult education. Rather, an attempt will be made to capture in the form of a typology what adult education theorists and practitioners have over time understood, and exhibited in practice, as distinctive about adult education and its relationship to social change. The first part of the paper introduces concepts that provide the basis for developing a typology and that, I argue, are necessary for understanding the nature of the relationship between adult education and social change. These concepts are (1) the *structure* of adult education programs, (2) the type of *agency* involved in learning and controlling the program, and (3) the social *purpose* of adult education. The discussion of (1) and (2) will involve a review of various ways in which adult education has been and currently is defined in the United States and clarification of how the domain of adult education is defined for the purposes of this discussion. Number (3), the social purpose of adult education, provides a context for understanding the relevance of (1) and (2) to adult education's social change mandate and the major schools of thought that have defined adult education over time: liberal, radical/socialist, and conservative. This section closes with a critical review of Paulston and Altenbaugh's typology of adult education.

The second part of the paper looks specifically at the history of adult education in the United States by focusing on three examples of adult education programs: university extension, workers' education, and the Black Panther Party. A sketch of the history of adult education in American universities provides an opportunity to paint a general picture of the incorporation of adult education priorities into the formal education system by way of federal government intervention. This provides a context for understanding the "crisis of conscious" currently afflicting liberal adult education theorists in the United States and provides support for the inclusion of university adult education in the typology. The struggle for workers' education in the United States between 1914 and 1936 has had profound implications for adult education, leading Rockhill to comment that the inter-war period was "the years when the institutional and ideological foundation of the emerging field of professional practice was established" (Rockhill, 1985, p. 183). Therefore, the second case study will look at a specific case of workers' education in the inter-war period, which provides insight into the ideological underpinnings of contemporary adult education and complement (and is complemented by) the prior discussion of the role of the state. Finally, the Black Panther Party is used as an example by Paulston and Altenbaugh in their development of a typology of adult education programs, introduced here as Table 1. There is little discussion in adult education literature about the use of adult education by twentieth century radical social movements such as the Black Panther Party, the American Indian Movement, or the Weathermen, for example. Indeed, it is unclear, given the extent of the institutionalization and professionalization of the field in the United States to date whether many analysts would even consider the programs implemented by these groups as adult education. Clearly they were in terms of the structure of the programs and the role of adult learners. Just as clearly, though, the social purpose of these organizations was radically at odds with liberal and conservative understandings of the role of adult education in the United States. It is therefore useful to briefly look at the Black Panther Party as one of the few and marginal examples of racial adult education in twentieth century America.

In conclusion, a typology of adult education programs in the United States will be developed, with a critical eye to Paulston et al.'s typology, which attempts to capture distinctive approaches to adult education with reference to the structure, the agency, and the purpose.

[Indeed, the most pre-eminent adult education theorist in the United States to this day, Eduard Linderman, identified the unique contribution and structure of adult education in its social change orientation and went as far as to write in 1945 that "I...believe that all successful adult education groups sooner or later become social action groups" (quoted by Brookfield, 1987, p. 137).

[The United States government affected the development of adult education in three related ways: (1) through progressive intervention into the field of adult education supporting the progressive professionalization and institutionalization of the field; (2) as a target of adult education critiques and organized oppositional programs; and (3) when government intervened to shut down radical adult education—Work People's College, Black Panthers.]

Table 1. A Typology of Adult Education Programs[†]

	Individual Control Pole	Program Control Pole	Formal Systems Control Pole
High	**Type 3** **Radical Humanist Adult Education Programs** in struggles for human liberation (i.e.., ANC, ETA, Black Panthers, Weathermen)		**Type 4** **Radical Structuralist Adult Education Programs** in newly revolutionary societies (i.e., China, Cuba, Iran, Nicaragua, Vietnam)
		Type 5 **Reformist Adult Education Programs** in collective efforts seeking large scale incremental change (i.e., co-op, civil rights, women's labor, peace movements, etc.	
Low	**Type 2** **Consumer Adult Education Programs** for individual growth, self-realization, recreation, leisure, the arts, etc. (i.e., private self-improvement courses)		**Type 1** **Conventional Adult Education Programs** in government, business, the military, etc. for innovation and greater system efficiency (i.e., training in equilibrium, state societies)

[†] Reproduced from Paulston, Rolland B. & Richard J. Altenbaugh. "Adult Education in Radical U.S. Social and Ethnic Movements: From Case Studies to Typology to Explanation" (Table 1, p. 119) in *Radical Approaches to Adult Education: A Reader*. Edited by Tom Lovett. Routledge: New York, 1988.

Part I: Defining Adult Education

A. Adult Education and Social Change

Adult education cannot be sufficiently understood when approached as a pure concept to be defined, then applied, to the empirical world. Its definition is a social one and therefore a reflection of different historical and social contexts. One has to be cautious, therefore, in defining the scope of adult education that there is sufficient flexibility to incorporate past concepts of adult education in order to be able to trace its emergence and expression in contemporary society. In 19th century England, for example, there was a form of education advocated by radicals that was "in a sense 'adult education'" (Johnson, 1988, p. 5). However, as Johnson notes, "this label misleads, reading back our modern separations anachronistically. Rather child/adult differences were less stressed than they are today, or than they were in the contemporary middle-class culture of childhood" (Johnson, 1988, p. 5).

Neither is there a uniform definition of adult education today in the United States. Liberal, conservative, and radical understandings of adult education may all be found in varying forms in varying degrees of implementation throughout the history of the United States. These understandings and practices are reflections of ongoing social, political and economic forces, the way people have analyzed these forces, and the forms in which these understandings have been expressed. As a result, attempts to come to terms with what is distinctive about adult education and its relationship to social change must address the fusion of normative, descriptive and programmatic elements of the theory and practice in contemporary debates surrounding adult education. Adult education has been shaped not only by the institutional forms and social and economic forces of society, but also by the vision of adult educators and the participation of learners.

1. Agency, Structure and Purpose

Three core variables underlie the relationship between adult education and social change: agency, structure and purpose. Jarvis (1986) distinguishes between *learning* as agency-centered and *education* as structure-centered in his discussion of lifelong learning, an analysis that is effective for understanding the nature of adult education. Lovett (1988), on the other hand, provides a third perspective crucial to understanding the relationship of adult education to social change, and this is the question of *purpose*. "The whole discussion about adult education and social change, about the role of adult education in popular social movements is intelligible only in relation to the question of purposes" (Lovett, 1988, p. 300). While Lovett's discussion of adult education practices centers on its role within social movements, I argue here that the question of purpose is equally applicable and central to all forms of adult education practices. Eduard Lindeman, writing in the early to mid-1940s on adult education in the United States, argues that the goals of adult education were "social in nature" and that what was distinctive about adult education was "the fact that its purpose is definitely social" (quoted by Brookfield, 1987, p. 136). Indeed, as early as 1937 Lindeman wrote that "adult education is learning associated with social purposes" (quoted by Brookfield, 1987, p. 136). And as will be shown in a quick review of adult education history below, it is not only adult education carried out within the framework of radical (and reformist) social movements which is fruitfully analyzed in terms of purpose, but adult education programs and practices in general which assume "a particular view of the nature and capabilities of men and women and the sort of society which would assist their development" (Lovett, 1988, p. 300). Fundamentally, the role of adult education in contemporary United States, whether radical, liberal or conservative in its social change orientation, is confronted by the question of what its social purpose is, given the reality U.S. citizens face and the future they expect (Lovett, 1988).

Adult education is not adult learning—though different theories about how adults learn, what they should learn, and the purposes of such learning inform understandings of adult education programs. This is a point about the distinction between structure and agency, the manner in which they are analytically related. It is also a historical and descriptive point, which is reflected in the various attempts to define adult education by American theorists and practitioners.

Huey Long (1990) uses the expression "post-compulsory education and training" as a synonym for adult education and a means of pinpointing what is distinctive about American adult education programs and practices. Post-compulsory education and training uses compulsory school age rather than enrollment characteristics, for example, to analytically isolate a distinct population. Therefore, post-compulsory education (or adult education) includes "individuals above the compulsory school age (16 years of age) who are not enrolled in a secondary or elementary school" (Long, 1990, p. 119). The desirability of this definition is in its inclusiveness, according to Long.

Evans (1987), drawing on the British experience, attempts a similar strategy employing the expression "post-initial education" for adult education programs and practices. "Adult education is defined inclusively to embrace all formal and informal post-initial education without regard to vocational status. As post-initial is synonymous with non end-on education, adult retraining is included in the definition, while the Youth Training scheme [Great Britain] is not. Similar mature students in Higher Education are included while 18-21 years old are not" (Evans, 1987, p. 1).

Paulston and Altenbaugh, whose typology of adult education programs is presented on page 6, define "movement" adult education as "structured, non-degree educational programmes for adults" (Paulston & Altenbaugh, 1988, p. 114). This definition incorporates various forms of organized adult education on the basis of a definition of the nature of social movements, by definition excluding state-sponsored forms of adult education.

"Nonformal education refers to organized out-of-school educational programs designed to provide specific learning experiences for specific target populations...The programs are generally designed to improve the participant's power and status either by adding to his or her stock of skills and knowledge or by altering basic attitudes and values toward work and life" (La Bell, 1984, p. 80).

"...any systematic, organized, educational activity carried on outside the formal system to provide selected types of learning to particular subgroups of the population" (La Belle paraphrased by Jarvis, 1986, p. 3).

Intentional learning "is carried out systematically by a school or teacher outside the school as workshops, seminars, or similar short-term activities aimed at transferring knowledge, changing attitudes or behavior" (Adams, 1988, p. 271).

Informal learning: "Informal learning takes place intentionally, but is self- or group-directed, neither prompted nor carried out by teachers or schools. As Paulston puts it, "informal learning derives in a non-systematic manner from generally unstructured exposure to cultural facilities, social institutions, political processes, personal media and the mass media. Both on the job, through invisible work groups, and off the job in clubs, bars or unions, workers have used informal learning as a tool to control their lot" (Adams, 1988, p. 271).

"...the process whereby every person acquires knowledge, skills, attitudes and aptitude from daily living..." (La Belle paraphrased by Jarvis, 1986, p. 3).

Formal learning "takes place in, and through, age-graded (or other) hierarchies which predetermine what is to be learned, when, where and how" (Adams, 1988, p. 271).

"...the institutionalized, chronologically graded and hierarchical educational system" (La Bell paraphrased by Jarvis, 1986, p. 3).

Incidental learning: Work is an important source of learning, characterized by what Adams terms "incidental learning": "an activity which takes place unintentionally as work goes on, and is derived from the task itself, or the way the task is organised within the enterprise. Historically, steel-workers, glassmakers, farmers, and countless others have sparked social reform from lessons incidentally resulting form work (Adams, 1988).

Lindeman, in a paper entitled "What Is Adult Education" (written in 1925), offered the following definition of adult education:

> a co-operative venture in non-authoritarian, informal learning the chief purpose of which is to discover the meaning of expe-

> rience; a quest of the mind which digs down to the roots of the preconceptions which formulate our conduct; a technique of learning for adults which makes education coterminous with life, and hence elevates living itself to the level of an experiment." (Quoted by Brookfield, 1984, p. 188)
>
> *radical education:*
>
> Who produces the knowledge and for what reasons was a central issue for nineteenth-century radicals. Their answer was very clear: in the end it is the people's knowledges that change the world. This means that self-education, or knowledge as self-production, is the only knowledge that really matters. Others may be resources here, but in the end you cannot be taught, you can only learn. Really useful knowledge occurs only in an active mood, and must have its active centre among subordinated social groups, the equivalents of "the people." (Johnson, 1988, p. 29)

Hopkins (1990, p. 24) uses an abbreviated version of the 1976 UNESCO definition of adult education adopted by Lalage Brown:

> The entire body of organised educational processes…whereby adults…develop their abilities, enrich their knowledge, improve their attitudes or behaviour in the twofold perspective of full personal development and participation in balanced and independent social, economic and cultural development.

(This definition is chock full of normative judgments). Hopkins uses this definition because he is convinced of the need to use an all-inclusive definition of adult education incorporating vocational, non-vocational, technical training, literacy, community development, etc., perspectives.

B. Ideological Underpinnings of Adult Education

Both radical and liberal adult education theorists speak of a crisis in adult education today. Quigley writes that there has been a recent resurgence of interest in social change by adult education theorists due to a concern "over the apparent loss of adult education's social purpose" and a "growing frustration over the lack of involvement of the field in social and public policy" (Quigley, 1991, p. 105). He provides an example from the 1990 American Association for Adult and Continuing Education annual conference in which the AACE preliminary program guide accused the adult education field of placing value on "questionable and inadequate documented" products; of producing "inadequately trained, not properly credentialed" educators; and of allowing "adult and continuing education opportunities to be shaped by funding agencies and commercial concerns," and charged adult educators with "negligence regarding the social action focus inherent in the mission and tradition of adult education" (Quigley, 1998, p. 105; from AAACE program, p. 1).[1] Cunningham echoes a similar charge when she writes, "Contemporary North American adult education practice is for the most part aligned to the concept of learning for earning" (1992, p. 180). Giroux and McLaren (1992, p. xi) argue that critical pedagogy in the United States is confronted by "a historical conjuncture in which the notion of democracy has been eclipsed as both an ideal and precondition for creating a literate public and critical citizens." It therefore comes as little surprise to them "that this particular historical juncture is witnessing an acute unease surrounding critical educational theorizing" (Giroux & McLaren, 1992, p. xi). The unease, indeed condemnation in some circumstances, of contemporary adult education in the United States is rooted in this concern. Rockhill argues that "

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[1] AAACE (American Association for Adult and Continuing Education). (1990). *On trial: The education of adults*. Preliminary program, Washington, DC: American Association for Adult and Continuing Education.

> The liberal tradition in the USA has not come to terms with its blending of elite, pragmatic and idealistic, egalitarian values. Essential to the maintenance of liberal ideas is a capacity for self-criticism, as well as social criticism, that has been lost in the pragmatic requisites of survival within a particular political, economic and educational system. The university is integral to the maintenance of the dominant economic power structure. The location of adult education in the university and the problems it poses have not been critically analysed; there appear to be no alternatives to participation in the system. (Rockhill, 1985, p. 169).

The key to democracy has become

> conformity and unity not freedom; equality becomes advancement of those able to benefit from contact with the elite; service is to vested interests, not to the cries for change; and excellence means the survival of academe...not the capacity for critical reflection or social transformation. The elite-pragmatic tendencies in liberalism have triumphed, much to its own demise. (Rockhill, 1985, p. 170)

Quigley writes,

> The sad fact is that American adult educators have yet to produce a major theoretical or research-based publication on social or public policy. Although adult education's involvement in democratic social change has been advocated in America since before Lindeman, in fact our past initiatives have typically been aimed at single target groups out of our populist "grassroots" culture and policy tradition. (Quigley, 1991, p. 106)

The United States adult education tradition in recent years has been dominated by a growing emphasis on individualism, a "body of psychological self-actualization research from Rogers and Maslow which has evolved through Knowles's andragogy to Mezirow's recent work on transformative and emancipatory learning" (Quigley, 1991, p. 107). Quoting Colin Griffin's recent critique of adult education trends in America and Britain, Quigley notes that this emphasis on individualism removes individuals from their social context, effectively depoliticizing the adult learner's social world. "Functioning out of an 'intellectual frame...in humanistic psychology and sociological functionalism' from 'Houle's urbane scholarship' to Mezirow's recent work, the field has gravitated towards the cult of personality and the diminishing of interest in critical socio-political forces which shape the world and influence us all" (Quigley, 1991, p. 107). Adult education has moved significantly away from past perceptions of it as a practice that emphasized finding solutions to social problems and sought to invoke alternative notions of social policy (Quigley, 1991).

Particularly in the United States, adult education has apparently turned its back on an intellectual history, which was founded not on psychology but social philosophy:

> From the utilitarians, Bentham and Mill; from classic liberals such as John Stuart Mill; and from the "New Liberalism" informed by Hegel and Kant which, in turn, set the moral basis for the famous 1919 Report where lifelong learning was a concept for rebuilding war-torn Britain (rather than providing a marketing opportunity to deliver more "workshops"). (Quigley, 1991)

Of the three social policy models presented by Griffin—the market model, the progressive-liberal-welfare model, and the social control model—adult education in the United States is dominated by the market model: the model of "entrepreneurism, rationalism, and utilitarianism" (Quigley, 1991, p. 108). At the same time, the progressive-liberal-welfare model is described by Griffin as appearing as "a necessary truth, the basis of reality, rather than as one political ideology among many" (Quigley, 1991, p. 108 quoting Griffin pp. 85-86 quoting Goodwin).

At the turn of the century approaches, adult education is confronted by a time of tumultuous social change at the very time it appears unable, or perhaps unwilling, to embrace a social change perspective. Quoting Ron Faris's post-script to "the first book devoted to Canadian adult education policy," Quigley writes that adult education holds an implicitly elitist view if "promotion of individual growth and enlightenment [is] the essential, if not sole, objective" (Quigley, 1991, p. 111; Faris, p. 243). For, "harmony and enlightenment typically do little for significant numbers of women, the working poor, the unemployed, the disabled, the elderly, or those of native ancestry" (Quigley, 1991, p. 111). Yet the history of adult education in the United States and its roots in the liberal tradition would suggest that this should not be the case. In order to understand the relationship of adult education to social change in the United States today, one needs to look at the history of the development of adult education practice and the evolution of its relationship to social change.

Quigley identifies two strategies at the heart of the ideological divisions that comprise the social change debate today in the United States: "a politically oriented, popular education approach and a traditional adult education approach," which, according to Carlos Torres's study of nonformal education in Latin America, is comprised of "whatever of its paradigms are in vogue" (quoted by Quigley, 1991, p. 115).

If adult educators look to the past for guidance in their response to social change, this must be done with an understanding of the cultural, political and economic forces that shaped adult education. A view of the future, on the other hand, requires a vision and a willingness to accept and adapt different sources of knowledge and ideological understandings of the world that shapes current practice (Quigley, 1991).

C. Critical Reflections on a Typology of Adult Education

In developing a typology of adult education programs, Paulston and Altenbaugh write:

> Radical adult education is perhaps best understood as racial because of its service to radical movements…a large part of such programmes is concerned with teaching rather basic skills

> such as literacy or running a co-op or a health centre, or a union, and only to a limited extent with ideological indoctrination. *When the tolerance parameters in a society open*—as in the 1930s in the USA when labour unions became legal with the Wagner Act, or when racial segregation was outlawed by he US Civil Rights Act—radical movements along with their adult education programmes collapse, or undergo goal transformation, and *conventional and consumer adult education programmes come to the fore by popular choice*. (Paulston & Altenbaugh, 1988, p. 134. My emphasis.)

The emphasized portions of the above quote highlight what is *not* an accurate reflection in Paulston et al.'s depiction of the history of adult education in the United States. These inaccuracies are corroborated by a review of the solidification of liberal ideology in the emergence of university adult education and the demise, or transformation, in the United States of workers' education from social to utilitarian objective. More analysis is required here, but the view underlying the above depicts the rise and fall of differing adult education programs in evolutionary terms. Rather than a succession of adult education programming shifting form "radical" to "consumer-oriented," depending upon the relative openness of society's "tolerance parameters," differing adult education programs are more fruitfully viewed in terms of the context to which they are responding at any given time as embodied by their differing social purposes.

Type 1—*Conventional Adult Education Programs*: This is typically the traditional form of adult education characterized by formal control of the program and little emphasis on change. Examples of this type of adult education include "formal educational systems, in business, in the military, and the like. It is training seeking to enhance individual and socio-economic efficiency and productivity. Simply put, it serves the status quo" (Paulson & Altenbaugh, 1988, pp. 117-118).

Type 2—*Consumer Adult Education Programs*: This type of adult education is individual-centered with a focus on the acquisition of individual goals such as "self-realisation, creativity, growth, leisure and the like" (Paulston & Altenbaugh, 1988, p. 118). It also rests on the low end of the change continuum but on the high end of the individual control pole, with control resting in the hands of the participants. "Both Types 1 and 2 are essentially regulatory and seek incremental individual change within the status quo" (Paulston & Altenbaugh, 1988, p. 118).

Type 3—*Radical Humanist Adult Education Programs*: Both participant control and the objective of change are high in this type of programs. The authors make little mention of what is referred to as "participant control." In regard to the objectives of Type 3 programs, however, they mention that "Here groups opposing the status quo and seeking radical change use adult education as anti-structure, as another weapon in their struggle for what they view as social justice" (Paulston & Altenbaugh, 1988, p. 118). Two different contexts for Type 3 programs are identified: (1) in the context of movements seeking "human liberation—as in radical religious movements, utopian communities, counter-culture movements and the like"; and in radical movements seeking basic restructuring of social and economic systems—as in Marxist or Fascist revolutionary movements, radical populist movements, etc." (Paulston & Altenbaugh, 1988, p. 118).

(NOTE: ambiguity over the notions of "control" and "change." In Type 2, individual control refers to the ability of an individual to choose between differing programs and (perhaps) in one's choice to continue in a program. In Type 3, however, control refers to the ability to affect the content of the program and the manner in which it is delivered. Furthermore, the distinction between the two different contexts within which these programs occur offers potentially radically different prospects for control. In the case of the second of these, radical movements, Marxist and populist movements are equated with Fascist movements. Leaving aside the question of Marxist and populist movements for the moment, does there really exist a high level of individual control over program content and implementation in a Fascist movement? Similarly, Type 2 refers to changes in life habits, individual activities, and psychological traits. While Type 3 may offer such opportunities, the notion of change defines the very nature of the program and refers to the goal of systemic changes in the social and political institutions of the state.)

Social change is a complex phenomenon to analyse and no attempt to isolate all its elements will be attempted here, suffice it to note that while conflict may be one element in it, evolution is another. Conflict can be seen in Freire's analysis of the power structures of society, and, indeed, conflict may well be necessary to change such structures in a radical manner in the great majority of the countries in the world. Social evolution, on the other hand, also occurs in the process of change and this has been defined by Bellah (1970, p. 21) as:

> "a process of increasing differentiation and complexity of organization that endows the organism, social system, or whatever the unit in question may be with a greater capacity to adapt to its environment, so that it is in some sense more autonomous relative to its environment than were its less complex ancestors." (Jarvis, 1987, p. 5)

Type 4—*Radical Structuralist Adult Education Programs*: These programs occur, according to the authors, when "revolutionary movements have actually taken control and are using state power to transform social, economic and educational systems so as to achieve the ideological goals of the revolution" (Paulston & Altenbaugh, 1988, p. 118). Formal control of programs is high here, as adult education is state-directed and institutionalized. And clearly, on the continuum of change goals, this is on the high end. [Type 4 is not relevant to the American situation and therefore will be removed from the revised typology and not addressed in this context.]

Type 5—*Reformist Adult Education Programs*: The authors refer to this category as a "hybrid type" (Paulston & Altenbaugh, 1988, p. 118). "Here collective change efforts largely outside of formal systems control use of adult education in incremental change efforts seeking greater equity via civil rights movements, labour movements, peace and environmental movements" (Paulston & Altenbaugh, 1988, p. 118).

[This eclectic category reveals difficulties the authors face in constructing a typology of social types that lacks a historical dimension. Type 5 is a catch-all category for various forms of adult education, which do not fit neatly into the other categories. For example, the Black Panther Party, though recognizably engaging in radical social change orientation (Type 3) during its relatively brief tenure, was engaged in the civil rights movement (Type 5). Where would, for example, the Nation of Islam fit in this typology? Radical social change? But on what basis? The manner in which this typology is constructed would suggest that each of these types is in some way distinguished on the basis of its orientations to capitalism; radical change/abolishment versus reform versus maintenance of the system. While the "program control pole" seems to be an adequate means of discerning distinctions between each (though still failing to address distinctions within Type 5), the "program goals for change" pole is confronted by the question of how to define "change": evolutionary or conflictual, perhaps. Types 5 and 3 would fall within the conflict model in that they seek to challenge prevailing institutional forms. Types 1 and 2 fall within the evolutionary model as they seek to better adapt the individual to evolutionary change ongoing within society. Where would university adult education fit, though? It has historically been "conventional" in the United States and apparently increasingly so. It has roots in Type 5, though, while on the formal systems end of the control pole. Paulston et al. define university education outside of adult education and hence their typology (Paulston & Altenbaugh, 1988). For the reasons explained above, it is in this paper's definition (both degree education and extension and/or continuing education non-degree programs).]

> The value of this typology will be found in…the extent to which it provokes critique and useful re-conceptualisation. It may also be assessed in how well it serves as a means to choose and compare cases illustrating the types identified, and how change on the two key dimensions, i.e., in programme goals and control, will lead to predictable shifts in programme type. (Paulston & Altenbaugh, 1988, p. 118)

PART II: TOWARD A TYPOLOGY OF ADULT EDUCATION

A. Adult Education, Social Change, and the State

The locus of responsibility for adult education in the US:

1) **Government sector:** Responsibility for education in general in the US belongs to the state government. However, since 1945, in particular, the federal government has played an increasingly pervasive role in influencing education nationally through the use of land and money grants. But government initiatives in adult education are generally specific and targeted for particular groups and in response to particular problems—and not aimed toward the provision of general adult education. (Stubblefield, 1990, pp. 144-145)

2) **The for-profit sector:** Those organizations engaged in the production and distribution of goods and services for profit "invest heavily in training and development activities for their work force. In the U.S. corporate training has become a major activity, and these training programs enroll more adults than post-secondary institutions." This sector, further, has a considerable interest in the specialized education offered by community colleges and universities (Ibid.).

3) **The non-profit sector:** (or "the third sector" or "voluntary sector" or "independent sector") includes just about every other organization that may offer education or training for adults: labor unions, the Red Cross, development organizations, clubs and associations, community organizations, etc. (Ibid.).

4) **"Free space"** (not a sector): The author makes a distinction between this sector and the others in two ways: He de-

scribes it as embodying a different type of education than the above three, "movement education" or what we might call "education for struggle." This "space" for education was created by those marginalized and excluded from the above sectors on the basis of race, class, gender, etc. Free space occurred especially during times of unrest and struggle: the suffrage movement shortly after the American Civil War (1865), the civil rights/anti-war movements of the 1960s, the anti-interventionist protests of the 1940s and 1950s (Ibid.)

1. The Institutionalization of Adult Education

Adult education is achieving new heights of professionalization and institutionalization in the United States. The "'war' against illiteracy, ignorance, and human inefficiency" is garnering significant support and, even high esteem as select universities receive significant funding from the likes of Ford, Kellogg, and Kettering Foundations (Zacharakis-Jutz, 1988). Adult education, as a field of inquiry and practice, is remaking itself to substantiate the field as a science "by developing a rigorous structure of theory and practice" (Zacharakis-Jutz, 1988, p. 44).

> The requirements to be an adult educator are becoming more prescriptive and limiting. Degree programs in adult education are becoming more standardized as flexibility is declining. For my generation, it is virtually impossible to join an academic faculty or even coordinate a volunteer literacy campaign without a terminal degree in adult education. Adult education, though professionalized, is losing its creativity as it becomes more and more identified as being a discipline, as opposed to its multi-disciplinary heritage. (Zacharakis-Jutz, 1988, p. 44).

Central to the relationship of adult education to social change is Zacharakis-Jutz's contention that as adult education becomes more professionalized it becomes increasingly vulnerable to the dominant power of the state and risks ultimately being reduced "to reproducing the status quo" (Zacharakis-Jutz, 1988, p. 44). Yet, adult education's self-understanding is a "belief [in] the ability to empower individuals or groups, and that we do this under the guise of theory building and science" (Zacharakis-Jutz, 1988, p. 45). As such, this belief, which Zacharakis-Jutz argues works to justify and legitimize the field of adult education, centers around "a profound contradiction: in the use of the notion of empowerment in theoretical discourse (Zacharakis-Jutz, 1988).

The contradiction to which Zacharakis-Jutz refers revolves round the education of adult educators. Some adult educators enter the field of adult education with the belief that adult education's self-definition is a political one, a belief in a potential to affect social change. But the first step to social change, according to Zacharakis-Jutz, is to develop "alternatives to the educational meritocracy" (Zacharakis-Jutz, 1988, p. 45). Yet, these potential agents of social change are themselves placed within a "schooling process [which] rewards the student who conforms and achieves with recognition and self-esteem. Those who fail are denied self-respect and are pushed out of school. failure, all too often, becomes the faulty of the student rather than of the system" (Zacharakis-Jutz, 1988, p. 43). In other words, the very system of educational meritocracy, which a social change perspective demands be critically examined and "condemned," is that which "successful" adult educators are called to conform to. "How long can successful graduates of the educational system continue to critically examine, at times condemn, this system before they are compromised (many times in order to survive), or until they become casualties or, worse yet, gadflies?" (Zacharakis-Jutz, 1988, p. 45). Social change defined as "empowerment" ["Empowerment, according to my argument, occurs when oppressed people come together and initiate collective action. In many cases there may be university people assisting such a group in its self-help effort. Yet, the ownership of the empowering process can only belong to the oppressed" (Zacharakis-Jutz, 1988, p. 46)]. Yet, as Zacharakis-Jutz rightly notes, "It is ludicrous for adult educators to speak of empowerment within the traditional system" (Zacharakis-Jutz, 1988, p. 46).

> Power and empowerment…have been defined as being dialectically opposed. Power is exemplified in how the dominant

> culture maintains its control over society, using education as a vehicle...Although there are many adult educators who have risen from the ranks of universities to work alongside the poor and working classes, the majority of adult educators are working to maintain the status quo by promoting prescriptive professionalism, and developing programs and theories which individualize adult learners. It should not surprise anyone that some of the hottest areas in adult education today are continuing professional education and human resource development. (Zacharakis-Jutz, 1988, p. 46)

The use of empowerment in the self-definition of adult education in the United States today is an example of a process that Evans (1987) describes as an effective way of undermining "radicals":: "Radicals may be ignored, dismissed, marginalised, and in some countries repressed; but the most effective weapon that can be deployed against them is the clever manipulation and distortion of their language" (Evans, 1987, p. 37).

Critical pedagogy in North America is for the most part a marginalized activity (Cunningham, 1992).

2. University Adult Education and Liberal Ideology

> By the twentieth century American adults were familiar with a variety of adult educational forms such as correspondence schools, university extension and public libraries. Increasing complexity of life, an expanding population, a growing industrial base and increasing scientific knowledge stimulated American debate and discussion of education at all levels: education for children and education for adults. (Long, 1990, p. 120)

Systematic approaches to the provision of education emerged early in the United States under the influence of British educational institutions and with a concern, particularly in the area of literacy, in meeting the needs of Protestant theology. Religious justifications for education were gradually replaced by occupational justifications and principles of humanistic enlightenment (Long, 1990).

> Concepts of piety that originated within a religious framework were gradually secularized into broader ethical concepts that evaded some of the religious dimensions. Similarly, the Calvinistic theology that frequently equated achievement with goodness (or righteousness in theological language) was displaced by concepts of personal effort that included educational improvement. (Long, 1990, p. 126)

In 1640 the College of Harvard was established, followed before the close of the century by other colleges such as Yale, Princeton, King's College and the College of Philadelphia. With the conclusion of the American Civil War, states such as Georgia and North Carolina established state-chartered institutions of higher education. Meanwhile, more informal institutions such as the American Lyceum, mechanics institutes, the Chautauqua and other activities provided an array of education opportunities outside of the college system (Long, 1990).

Until the 1860s, education remained within the purview of state-level government, though there were early signs of federal interest and support for public education (in legislation enacted concerning the development of Western territory, for example). In 1862 the federal government signaled a clear interest in influencing the nature of education provisions in the country with the enactment of the Morrill Act. Refereed to by Long as "the first important Federal provision for post-compulsory education," the Morrill Act of 1862 granted "each state 30,000 acres of land for each Senator and Representative in Congress based on appointment under the census of 1860" (Long, 1990, p. 11 120). "Funds obtained by the states from the sale of the public lands were used to endow, support and maintain at least one college where the curriculum did not necessarily exclude, scientific and classical studies, military tactics, and such branches of learning as are related to agriculture and the mechanic arts" (Long, 1990, p. 121). The Morrill Act provided grants of federal land to state governments for the establishment of land grant universities in the promotion of "education in the mechanical and agricultural arts at the college level for members in the promotion of "education in the mechanical and agricultural arts at the college level for members of the working class" (Stubblefield, 1990, p. 145).

The 1862 Act was followed by a second Morrill Act of 1890 that provided further means by which a State could supported land-grant institutions and was used in the South to establish separate agricultural and mechanical colleges for Blacks (Long, 1990). Further legislation introduced in the 19th century supported the establishment of agricultural experiment stations in a number of states.

In 1914 the federal government extended support for the creation of the Cooperative Extension Service (CES) with the Smith-Lever Act, creating what has been described as "the world's largest informal adult education program" (Stubblefield, 1990, p. 145). While the Morrill Act of 1862 supported agricultural services through the establishment of technical and agricultural schools prior to 1914, the Smith-Lever Act established a "unique structure and service delivery system" jointly supported by three levels of government (Long, 1990). The Department of Agriculture had responsibility at the federal level, the land grant university was responsible at the state level, and county government at the local level to provide an extension service that eventually was to "place one or more 'extension agents' in almost every county in the U.S." (Stubblefield, 1990, p. 145). Several factors led to the feasibility of the 1914 Smith-Lever Act, primarily, however, the development of scientific agricultural knowledge and the demonstration by which this knowledge was disseminated (Stubblefield, 1990). The creation of the Act was also encouraged by the lobbying efforts of several groups in the United States: "the national association of land grant universities, farm bureaus, and private philanthropic foundations" (Stubblefield, 1990, p. 145).

Education was now increasingly justified through appeals to personal achievement goals, particularly in the case of adults. o The ideal of personal achievement, the ability of "even the lowest born young man or woman" to move up the social ladder characterized justifications for adult education. There was also a concurrent and increasingly central concern with the Americanization or socialization of new immigrants. Through the provision of evening classes, public schools have had a long history of involvement in adult education. The late nineteenth and early twentieth century saw the emergence of community education perspectives on the role of public schools, where "public school leaders began to consider the public school as a community center with responsibilities for recreational and educational programs for adults" (Stubblefield, 1990, p. 147). The impetus for this movement came in large part from a concern with the "Americanization" of immigrants to the United States (Stubblefield, 1990). And finally, industrialization created new labor demands which in turn placed further emphasis on education as a means of meeting the needs of this growing industrial base.

The federal government followed up the Smith-Lever Act with the Smith-Hughes Act of 1916. The Smith-Hughes Act provided funds primarily for public schools to expand vocational training and education for agricultural and industrial workers. While the Smith-Lever and Smith-Hughes Acts expanded the role of the federal government in the provision of education, this was not yet a major shift in federal government policy towards education (Stubblefield, 1990).

Over the next 50 years federal government involvement in "post-compulsory education was random and erratic, some say cyclical" (Long, 1990, p. 121). However, the role or influence of the federal government in the provision of education continued to increase. State governments held and continue to hold *de jure* responsibility for the provision of education programs according to interpretations of the United States Constitution (Long, 1990), but the federal government has in practice steadily increased its role in determining the nature of educational provisions in the country. Congress has used federal appropriations to influence and generate program development in various areas as well as influencing the actual content of curriculum and the nature of instructional practices among other things (Long, 1990).

In the 1930s the nature of federal government involvement changed significantly with the introduction of a massive program of adult education in response to the economic Depression. Federally sponsored programs were implemented employing writers, artists and actors. "Teachers were hired to conduct literacy and other adult education programs, and workers were put to work in libraries. The Civilian Conservation Corps program provided work for youth between eighteen and twenty-five in residential camps, and education programs were soon added" (Stubblefield, 1990, p. 146). In other words, the federal government responded to a dire economic crisis by entering into the cultural and adult education field in a response to economic, and not educational, concerns. With the onset of World War II (and the end to the economic imperative?), the United States ended these programs.

However, there was controversy within government and adult educator circles surrounding the support of adult education during the thirties. "Productions mounted by the Federal Theatre project, for example, engaged in social criticism about racial and economic injustice. Such criticism did not set well with some in Congress, and on June 30, 1939, the Federal Theatre was abolished by an Act of Congress" (Stubblefield, 1990, p. 146). Meanwhile, some adult educators considered federal government involvement in general a threat to "the freedom of agencies and to the unrestricted flow of information" (Stubblefield, 1990, p. 146).

Long dates a contemporary revival in interest, activity and concern for the United States educational system, and its conceptual foundations, from the launching of the world's first orbital satellite by the USSR in the early 1960s. "The extent of Federal participation in post-compulsory education and training in the educational core is difficult to ascertain. It is obvious that participation increased at a rapid rate in the twenty years following the passage of the National Defense Education Act" (Long, 1990, p. 130), of 1958, which followed public and political reaction to the Sputnik launch.

The USSR's achievement precipitated a debate over the effectiveness of the United States educational system in the light of Soviet advances. The result was an apparent change of attitudes toward the importance and possibilities of adult education in the country (Long, 1990). For Long this turn to education is typical of what he terms the "cyclical" nature of government concern for education. By this he refers to the manner in which attention to education waxes and wanes according to contemporary needs and developments of the state (Long, 1990).

Since approximately 1960 the federal government has increased the share of revenues directed toward core institutions (Long, 1990).

> As State and local institutions they generally obtained the bulk of their public support from State and local sources. Following World War II, however, the range of federal grants available for core institutions serving individuals beyond compulsory school age increased. The basic foundations for such support possibly could be traced to the nineteenth century Morrill Act of 1862 and subsequent legislation in the area of legislation providing for educational assistance to former military personnel. (Long, 1990, pp. 128-129)

The federal government has extended its influence to education through the "general welfare" clause as it lacks constitutional authority otherwise. Its role in adult education has been what Stubblefield terms "largely episodic": "massive programs were abruptly organized to meet an economic or social crisis and then abruptly discontinued when the crises waned or another political party came to power" (Stubblefield, 1990, p. 145). On the other hand, there were also cases of education interventions into adult education that became an ongoing responsibility for the federal government.

The Higher Education Act (1965) emerged in the 1960s during the administrations of John F. Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson. It was a response to an economic recession, a national focus on widespread poverty, and massive civil unrest by African Americans (Stubblefield, 1990). The Economic Opportunity Act (1964) provided federal funds for states to use for adult basic and secondary education. This was followed in 1965 by the Higher Education Act, which provided under Title I funds channeled through state governments to colleges and universities "to address social and economic problems" (Stubblefield, 1990, p. 146). There was an attempt in 1976 to orationalize the federal government's involvement in adult education with the introduction of the Lifelong Learning Act. Limited funding, however, meant only a three-year study was possible and there was little, if any, effect on government practice.

In the 1960s community colleges inherited a larger role in adult education with the state government seeing the community college as a model to address several educational and social needs. The Great Society reform programs of the 1960s was the context in which community colleges provided an inexpensive two year "transfer" program for those who wanted to complete an undergraduate degree and a two year associates degree and other shorter programs for those who wanted vocational training. These programs, when coupled with continuing education and community services, provided a comprehensive higher education institution accessible to and serving most of the young adult and adult population in any states. (Stubblefield, 1990, p. 147)

Though no comprehensive policy existed for the federal government, its role in the provision of adult education in the United States remained pervasive in the 1970s. The government had invested heavily in various forms of adult education and these "programs were so pervasive in the various departments of the federal government that it was impossible to catalog them" (Stubblefield, 1990, p. 146). Long does provide us with some idea of the extent of government involvement, however. In the late 1970s, approximately 52 million students were enrolled in the compulsory school program, compared to an estimated 63.8 million learners enrolled in noncompulsory education and learning programs. Five of the most important (in terms of enrollment) sources were: 1. Agriculture Extension—12 million; 2. College and university undergraduate education—9.5 million; 3. Community organizations—7.4 million; 4. Private industry—5.8 million; 5. City recreation departments—5.0 million. Long notes one report cites 79 literacy programs in 14 federal agencies in 1985 alone (Long, 1990).

As it is, education and training "at all levels have increasingly become identified with the social, economic and political goals of the nation" (Long, 1990, p. 122). Economic depressions, wars, and political events influence federal education policy development. The result is a lack of continuity in policy development, a consequence of the play of social, economic and political forces in the country (Long, 1990). In 1980 the Reagan administration came to power and a different philosophy regarding adult education, to the extent one existed, came into being. "Manpower" development programs, which had been consolidated under the Comprehensive Education and Training Act, were replaced by the Reagan administration with the Job Partnership Training Act. This Act called for greater involvement of private industry in the provision of adult education and signaled a greatly reduced role for the federal government in adult education (Stubblefield, 1990).

The U.S. Congress has used federal appropriations to influence and generate program developments in various areas as well as influencing the actual content of curriculum and the nature of instructional practices, among other things. This has led to debates in the twentieth century concerning who is responsible in the U.S. for education and training, while at the same time a trend towards increasing federal support and control of education at all levels has continued (Long, 1990).

While the provision of post-compulsory educational programs has not been limited to government bureaucracy in the United States but provided by an array of organizations with what Long calls a "complex and pluralistic framework" (Long, 1990, p. 121), adult education programming has come increasingly under the control of both government and business organizations.

The latter half of the twentieth century saw a growth in theory on the role of education leading to various justifications of and proposals for the nature of adult education in the United States (Long, 1990).

State governments have played an autonomous role in the provision of adult education, though this has meant varying levels of involvement from one state to the next. Stubblefield compares New York state and the state of Virginia, for example. New York state introduced a comprehensive state policy for adult education while the state of Virginia "has what can only be described as a minimal policy. In Virginia, no state monies can be spent for continuing education by community colleges or universities" (Stubblefield, 1990, p. 147).

Today, community colleges in general place a great emphasis on vocational training, working closely with the private sector to provide

> specially tailored courses for employees and, through special units such as a Small Business Institute, actively marketing the services of the college. For all practical purposes, these units have become "for-profit agencies" within publicly funded higher education institutions. (Stubblefield, 1990, p. 148)

In the late 1880s, American voluntary associations adopted the British notion of university extension as a means of extending "advanced learning through lectures" (Stubblefield, 1990, p. 148). In the 1900s, with the development of American research universities, a distinctive style of extension was developed by Unites States Universities. The implementation of university extension was uneven, however. The University of Wisconsin, for example, provided services, resources, and educational programs that extended across the entire state. "In the best of the progressive tradition, faculty members made their expertise available as consultants to the state legislative committees and commissions" (Stubblefield, 1990, p. 148). On the other hand, development of extension programs at the University of California was mired in debates over the relationship between community service and academic courses and whether "academic excellence could be maintained in extension programs" (Stubblefield, 1990, p. 148). By 1915, however, a sufficient number of American universities had adopted a commitment to extension programs that the National University Extension Association was organized (Stubblefield, 1990).

By the 1960s several factors had led to colleges and universities accepting a greater role in adult education. Programs were adapted to address the particular conditions of adult students. Academic degree programs were made more accessible through the development of external degree programs, adult degree programs and programs offering "credit for life experience" (Stubblefield, 1990, p. 148). Continuing education programs were developed and expanded, and the Continuing Education Unit came into being.

Much of the impetus for these changes emerged after World War II with the GI Bill, providing funding assistance for veterans who wished to enter higher education. The large influx of veterans into American universities made it necessary for these institutions to adapt programs to respond to an adult constituency. Demographic changes since World War II also saw women in greater numbers entering the workforce and a greater emphasis by the American population in general on the virtues of a higher education. No doubt this was in part a response to higher minimal education requirements for many jobs in which a college degree became a requirement (Stubblefield, 1990). Indeed, the 1950s has been called the "knowledge economy," where fewer jobs required physical labor and more the ability to manipulate information. "The rapid production and dissemination of knowledge and changing technology made continuing education in the workplace a necessity" (Stubblefield, 1990, p. 148). As such, universities joined with the private sector (business and industry) in an effort to keep workers up-to-date. The technical expertise of university faculties was placed "at the disposal of the economic sector through research partnerships, technology transfer programs, and continuing education" (Stubblefield, 1990, p. 148).

B. Adult Education, Social Change, and the "Free Space"

> A careful reading of American history shows that these movements were not peripheral events. And the reinterpretation of American adult education now underway has begun to show that these movements were not peripheral to the history of adult education. Government has its own state in the education of adults and has created its own structure. Groups who have been denied full participation in the American promise also have their own state in their education and have created structures in the "free spaces" to advance that agenda. (Stubblefield, 1990, p. 150)

> Radical adult education is perhaps best understood as radical because of its service to radical movements. (Paulston & Altenbaugh, 1988, p. 134)

1) Labor Struggle: Work Peoples' College (1903-41)

Five basic characteristics of traditional adult education in the United States ("or by education that has been devised by the conventional, mainstream trade union movement within American capitalism")

1. With respect to value added: traditional adult education ads value to capital by improving individual skills which then can only be used in workplaces where capital controls labour. Labour union education has added value to workers' collective capacity to coerce capital but, in the final analysis (at least to date ...) mainstream unions accept capital's permanent domination of labour education...(Adams, 1988, p. 275).

2. With respect to worker solidarity: most traditional adult education has fostered individual competitiveness and powerlessness with regard to one's economic destiny, while perpetuating the distinction between earning a living with one's hands or with one's head. Most labour education institutionalises the adversarial relationship between capital and labour, elaborating, if not extending, government's mediating role which ultimately always favours capital. Education in a democratic workplace by definition nourishes mutual aid and cooperation between workers and managers, and between other worker-members (Adams, 1988, p. 275).

3. With respect to ideology: traditional adult education has inherently taught job scarcity and Social Darwinism. On the other hand, labour education has taught the ideology of class, job consciousness, the closed shop, and the means to preserve hard-won privilege—often at the expense of fellow workers. The democratically managed workplace itself teaches the necessity of expanding political and economic opportunity, and of widening privilege—if the worker-owned and democratically managed firm is to prosper in a free market (Adams, 1988, pp. 275-276).

4. With respect to social logic: while adult education implicitly has taught the logic of self-aggrandisement, labour education perforce has taught the logic of collective benefits. To date, at last with respect to the evolving experience in the Mondragon Group, workers' education has taught the logic of

democratic social transformation, inherently if not overtly (Adams, 1988, p. 276).

5. Finally, with respect to the function of adult education: in America, at least, most schooling for adults rests on the assumption that learning is a way out of the working class. For the union movement, education has been seen as a way to move the working class into improved social strata while strengthening the loyalty of members to union leaders. In the democratically-managed, worker-owned firm, education can be seen as one means by which to achieve labour solidarity, as well as a labour-managed company; recent Policy history testifies to this assertion (Adams, 1988, p. 276).

Following the American Civil War, adult education was combined with political action directed at the state by a number of organizations in the United States. The National American Woman Suffrage Association (a merger in 1890 of two earlier organizations), the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, the Knights of Labor, the National Grange of the Patrons of Husbandry, and the Farmer's Alliance all employed adult education within a protest movement (Stubblefield, 1990).

Two major strands composed the radical American labor movement. One was socialists and anarchists who fled Europe to North America at the turn of the century. The most radical of these were the Finnish socialists who settled largely in the upper Middle West and came to comprise the largest proportion of the foreign-born groups in the Mesabi Iron Range located in northern Minnesota. "These refugees from Czarist oppression, draft resisters among them, included liberals as well as socialists, intellectuals as well as workers" (Paulston & Altenbaugh, 1998, p. 120). A second wave of radical and militant Finns followed this initial influx following Russian intervention in the 1905 general strike in Finland (against Russian rule) and the Viapori rebellion in 1906. A number of these political refugees, including Leo Laukki and Yrjo Sirola, became immediately involved in workers' education and radical socialist movements in the United States (Paulston & Altenbaugh, 1988).

The Industrial Workers of the World composed a second major component of the radical American labor movement during this same period. A June 27, 1905 meeting of 200 radicals representing some 60,000 workers met in Chicago to create one big industrial union. The one union idea was enthusiastically embraced by the left wing of the Socialist Party with the convention recognizing the ineffectiveness of the craft union "as a fulcrum for toppling the capitalist system" (Paulston & Altenbaugh, 1988, p. 120).

> Fellow workers...This is the Continental Congress of the working class. We are here to confederate the workers of this country into a working-class movement that shall have for its purpose the emancipation of the working class from the slave bondage of capitalism. There is no organisation that has for its purpose the same object as that for which you are called together today. The aims and objects of this organisation should be to put the working class in possession of the economic power, the means of life, in control of the machinery of production and distribution, without regard to capitalist masters. The American Federation of Labor, which presumes to be the labour movement of this country, is not a working-class movement. It does not represent the working class. There are organisations that are...loosely affiliated with the AF of L, which in their constitution and by-laws prohibit the initiating of or conferring of the obligation on a coloured man; that prohibit the conferring of the obligation on foreigners. What we want to establish...is a labor organisation that will open wide its doors to every man that earns his livelihood either by his brain or his muscle...there is a continuous struggle between the two classes, and this organisation will be formed, based and founded on the class struggle, and but one object and one purpose and that is to bring the workers of this country into the possession of the full value of the product of their toil. (Haywood, 1974 [1929], quoted in Paulston & Altenbaugh, 1988, p. 121)

The convention rejected the American Federation of Labor (AFL) as a credible representative of the American working-class movement. It sought a more radical agenda in the constitution of the one big union, specifically rejecting membership criteria based upon skill, race or sex. By setting low membership fees, the IWW reached out to the most poorly paid and ill-treated workers in the United States—the migratory workers of the West and the unskilled industrial workers of the East—workers ignored by the AFL (Paulston & Altenbaugh, 1988).

1) Formation of the Workers' College

The shift in the ideology of workers' education from social reconstruction to the improvement of industrial relations through consensual collective bargaining, is a radical one, and reflects the movement of labour from the status of oppositional social movement into establishment politics, as it has gained institutional legitimacy and integration into the existing social and political system. In the United States workers' education has been inimical to the liberal ideology of adult education, especially as it has been manifest in the university. Workers' education, and the issues it raised for liberal adult educators, touched off a storm of controversy during the inter-war years. Because these were the most critical years in the history of adult education—the years when the institutional and ideological foundation of the emerging field of professional practice was established—the debate over workers' education and its outcome had a very fundamental impact upon the development of adult education. Current assumptions about the way adult education must be conducted derive from this debate, which was really about the perceived threat of socialism to American democracy. (Rockhill, 1985, pp. 182-183).

2) The Black Panther Party (1966-1971)

Following World War II, protest movements emerged in opposition to the United States government's policy of intervention and containment of communism abroad. Combining study and action, this movement reached its zenith in the late 1960s and early 1970s with protests directed against the Vietnam War. Simultaneously, social unrest and political action emerged in the 1950s and 1960s with blacks, women, native Americans and Mexican-Americans mobilizing against the state. All of the above combined education and political action (Stubblefield, 1990).

The Black Panther Party stated in the streets of the Black communities of Oakland, California, by Bobby Seale and Huey P. Newton in 1966. The philosophical basis of the BPP's platform and program incorporated materials as diverse as the United States Declaration of Independence (by American colonists to King George III), Stokely Carmichael, Frantz Fanon, Malcolm X and Mao Tse Tung (Paulston & Altenbaugh, 1988).

> Identification with the lumpenproletariat was important to the Black Panther ideology, as stressed by Eldridge Cleaver in the Pamphlet, on the *Ideology of the Black Panther Party* (Part 1) (Oakland, Cal. 1969). He made distinctions between the Mother Country and the Black Colony and within both between the working class and the lumpenproletariat. Cleaver characterised the lumpen as having nowhere else to rebel but in the streets because 'the lumpen have been locked outside of the economy'. (Paulston & Altenbaugh, 1988, p. 126)

The Black Panther Party engaged in "specific activities and adult educational tools were used to convey ideology, raise individual consciousness, and secure commitment to the struggle for radically different social, political and economic relations with the dominant white majority" (Paulston & Altenbaugh, 1988, p. 126).

The first period:	1966-1968
The second period:	1968-1970
The third period:	1970-1971

Table 2. Community Education Theoretical Model

	Universal model	Reformist model	Liberal tradition model	Radical model
Explicit model of society/ community	Consensus	Pluralism		Conflict
Premise	Homogeneity and basic harmony of interests	Heterogeneity and inter-group competition		Class structure, inequality and powerlessness
Strategy	Universal non-selective provisor for all age/social groups	Selective intervention to assist disadvantaged people and deprived areas	Issue-based education, equal opportunities and social action	Issue-based education, equal opportunities and social action
Central focus	Secondary school/community college	Primary school/home/neighborhood	Social action, working-class action groups	Local working-class action groups
Influences	Henry Morris	Eric Midwinter, A.H. Halsey	Eduard Lindeman	Tom Lovett, Paulo Freire and deschoolers (Ivan Illich, e.g.)
Dominant themes	Lifelong learning Integrated provision Openness and access Decompartmentalization Rationalization Coordination Voluntarism Neutrality Cooperation	Positive discrimination Decentralization Participation Social relevance Home-school links Preschooling/ play Informal adult education Self-help Partnership	Social relevance Learning networks Structural analysis Informal adult education	Redistribution/ equal opportunities Community action power Redefinition of priorities Local control Political education Learning networks Structural analysis Solidarity and collaboration
	Top-down (professional leadership) Formal Program-oriented Institutional Reactive			Bottom-up (local leadership) Informal Process-oriented Local Proactive

Adapted from Table 1.2, p. 24, Martin, Ian. "Community Education: Towards a Theoretical Analysis" (pp. 11-32) in *Community Education: An Agenda for Educational Reform*. Edited by Garth Allen, John Bastiani, Ian Martin and Kelvyn Richards. Open University Press: Philadelphia, 1987.

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AFRICA'S EDUCATIONAL DILEMMA:

ROADBLOCKS TO UNIVERSAL LITERACY FOR SOCIAL INTEGRATION AND CHANGE

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Introduction

A variable and problematic concept in Africa, literacy is constantly evolving to address the diversity of needs of the African people. Though conventional literacy is defined as the ability to read and write and universal literacy as the ability of all people to read and write, the concept has been subjected more recently to constant redefinition to reflect criteria for social, political, religious and economic "relevance" and expectations. The more functional aspects of literacy now take precedence over basic reading and writing skills to the extent that both the scope and content have been expanded to tap the strengths of the people for development. In other words, literacy skills to enhance cultural and political consciousness of the masses, literacy for improved economic awareness, literacy that promotes religious and linguistic accommodation are recognized as key factors in the process of social change and integration.

This holds true for all contemporary societies but more so for the Third World societies including the nations of Africa. The yoke of illiteracy, it is rightly argued, limits the ability to change and mobilize human resources for economic development. It also constrains the effective integration of these societies into an increasingly interdependent and complex technological world (Bhola 1990b; Ahmed 1989; Ouane 1990; Lasway 1989; Fafunwa 1967). In terms of stated national educational objectives, the imperatives of universal literacy as a precondition to the "modernization" of post-colonial African societies are acknowledged and evidenced by a number and range of educational plans and programs of the past three decades (World Bank 1988). But, despite official aims, pronouncements, plans and numerous programs, the goals of universal literacy in Africa have proven to be elusive. By current trends even within the nations that have registered gains in their literacy rates, these have been offset by increases in the actual numbers of illiterates due to rapid population growth.

The obstacles or roadblocks to universal literacy in Africa are numerous. They include historical, demographic, cultural and institutional factors. Though all these roadblocks are important, their relative impacts vary and are interconnected. They are however, often used independently or in some limited combinations as the discrete foci of analyses and interpretations of illiteracy in Africa.

This study has a threefold objective. First, it provides background information about educational policies in Africa; second, it offers an overview of the range of roadblocks to universal literacy in Africa; third, it outlines a broad, integrated conceptual framework for the analysis and interpretation of the complex of issues that inhibit universal literacy and signal the importance of state interests in fostering and compounding the roadblocks to universal literacy. Data from primary and secondary sources are used to detail those factors that feed on one another and put into fuller perspective the central role of Africa's political institutions.

Background

Universal Literacy, Social Integration and Development

The recognition of literacy for social integration and development dates back to the period of the industrial revolution in response to basic literacy and numeracy requirements for the emerging industrial jobs (Kaestle 1991). Since then, efforts to attain universal literacy have proven to be difficult everywhere, including presently industrialised nations such as the United States. But, wherever governments have been determined to eradicate illiteracy, the people have responded favorably. This was the case in the former Soviet Union, which underwent a complete transformation when resources were mobilized in a massive educational program, described as "the mother of all mass literacy campaigns" (Kagan 1982: 4). This campaign reduced illiteracy within two decades from 70 per cent in 1919 to 13 per cent in 1939 (Kagan 1982: 4). China, Cuba and Vietnam furnish similar examples (Cairns 1989: 550-551). Some exemplary cases are documented in Africa as well. Tanzania's illiteracy rate for instance, dropped from 67 per cent in 1970 to 10 per cent in 1986 (Lasway 1989: 482) and in Ethiopia, the literacy rate in five languages grew from 7 per cent to 44.8 per cent in 1982, following a national campaign that was started in 1979 (Cairns 1989: 552).

As the twentieth century draws to a close and the global economy continues to undergo drastic changes, nations are again confronted with the need to provide all their citizens with education and, as a minimum, functional literacy skills. In the same way as the industrial revolution pushed the developed countries towards basic literacy, the age of information is forcing many of them to evaluate and give special attention to educational quality, school retention and extension of education to minorities. Equally so, African nations need to change and expand both the scope and content of education, to make needed improvements in their economic and political institutions in order to be properly linked to the rest of the world. The capacity for such changes will only be made possible through the willingness of African nations to pursue educational policies and goals that are radically different from those of the past.

Colonial and Post-Colonial Education in Africa

Western or formal education in Africa dates back to the seventeenth century. It evolved as part of missionary and colonial activities on the continent (Wise 1956). Though missionary and colonial education had different orientations, they were similar in that their contents were Western-oriented. They were designed to prepare individuals to serve missionary and colonial interest; to inculcate the values of metropolitan powers in a few selected individuals or, in some instances, to provide very limited functional literacy skills to support colonial economic activities in strategic areas of the colonies. If the orientation was for a select few, the individuals were mostly men who were needed by the colonial governments to support their administrations. As Van Allen (1974: 61) noted, "Where the colonialists needed literate Africans to form a supportive structure for colonial governments, they sought out young boys for training. Again, colonial education soon came to be requisite for prestige and for political and economic power mostly for men, to the neglect of women."

In effect, colonial and, to a large extent, mission education created a small number of elites, mostly men who functioned as a group apart from their societies to preserve their privileged position independent of the needs of their societies (Rodney 1972). The legacy of colonial educational practices lingers on. The elites that colonial education created inherited the government following independence and continue to use their privileged positions to monopolize the control of African states and to define national educational policies and goals.

Independently, and with the assistance and collaboration of international agencies such as UNESCO, post-colonial African states have tried to expand and make education accessible to larger numbers of the population. Universalization of primary education in Africa has increased participation in formal education by nearly 600 per cent in the last two decades (Dave et al. 1989: 390). Despite these gains however, levels of illiteracy in African nations rank among the highest in the world (UNESCO 1991).

Sixteen of the 26 countries in the world with illiteracy rates of 70 per cent or more, are located in sub-Saharan Africa. Of these, 12 are in West Africa (Ouane 1990: 25). Levels of illiteracy in sub-Saharan areas in general tend to be higher in Portuguese and French-speaking countries than in English-speaking ones. Levels of illiteracy in the French-speaking areas in West Africa based on 1985 figures range from 60 per cent in Togo to 85 per cent in Burkina Faso and Niger. A comparable figure for the Portuguese-speaking areas is 85 per cent in Guinea Bissau. Though relatively lower, the figures for some of the English-speaking areas are also high. For instance, in Sierra Leone and Gambia, rates for the same period were over 70 per cent (UNESCO/BREDA 1985).

The goals of colonial education and their impact on post-colonial Africa are fairly similar regardless of the particular metropolitan power or current state ideology. What is evident is that there are two divergent approaches to education, both aimed at political and economic control. On the one hand, the emphasis is on a quantitatively massive, but qualitatively limited education for the creation of a "settled and thriving industrial labor peasantry" to support colonial and contemporary state economic interest without political threat, and on the other, the aim is to produce a fairly well educated, but limited number of individuals, preferably drawn from local upper lineages, in order to create a small cadre of elites to reproduce the existing social order (Corby 1990).

In essence, African states both past and present have fashioned education and mass literacy programs for political ends rather than for the political liberation and autonomy of individuals and groups. These political considerations serve as effective hindrances to universal literacy.

Roadblocks to Universal Literacy

Population and Demography

Rapid rate of population growth and other demographic factors are among the significant forces that will continue to influence education and literacy within nations and among groups in African nations. The total population of sub-Saharan Africa is now estimated at about 492 million and it is projected to reach 675 million by the year 2000. At its present rate of growth (around 3 per cent compared to 2.1 per cent and 1.8 per cent for all developing nations and the world respectively), it will nearly double within two decades. In addition, Africa's population is relatively young. More than 40 per cent is under 15 years of age and nearly 65 per cent is 24 years of age or less. Comparable figures for the developing nations and the world respectively are 56 per cent and 51.4 per cent. This segment of Africa's population is growing at a rate of 3.2 per cent, nearly twice the rate for all developing nations (1.6 per cent) and about three times the rate (1.2 per cent) for the world (Europa Yearbook 1991; UNESCO 1991).

The rate of population growth and, in particular, the rate of expansion in the young population, has outstripped gains in literacy. Further, the differentials in literacy between males and females, urban and rural areas as well as between different age groups are marked. The figures presented in Table I illustrate the implications of population growth for illiteracy in different African countries.

By 1990, the illiteracy rates in all six countries had declined from their previous levels. However, the rates remained relatively higher within the rural areas and among women in both rural and urban areas. In addition, while there was a general decline in the rates of illiteracy, expect in Tanzania, there was an increase in the actual number of illiterates. The size of the illiterate population among those aged 15 years and above in Burkina Faso grew from 2,803,440 in 1975 to 4,136,700 in 1990, an increase of about 48 per cent. Corresponding increases for males and females were 41 per cent and 53 per cent. Comparable figures for Liberia (1974) were from 714,502 to 839,000, representing a 17.4 per cent increase in the total number of illiterates and 12.5 per cent and 21.3 per cent respectively for males and females *(Europa Year Book* 1991). These general trends are not limited to the nations included in Table 1. In Zambia, for example, it is reported that while the illiteracy rate dropped from 67 per cent in 1964 to about 41 per cent in 1980, the actual number of illiterates grew from 1.2 million to three million (Mutava 1988: 345). Within nations, there are variations in levels of illiteracy by age, gender and between urban and rural areas. As can be seen in Table 2, the lowest illiteracy rate, 32.5 per cent is for those between 15-19 years, while the highest, 84.3 per cent, is for those above 55 years.

It is evident that population growth puts extra burdens on the capacity of African nations to meet the educational needs of people in general. The urban-rural and gender differentials in levels of illiteracy reflect traditional attitudes towards the education of females in particular. But while Tanzania is confronted with the same population problems and limited financial resources as the rest of Africa, with concerted official efforts, it has been able to reduce both the rate and number of the illiterate population.

Language and Culture

Various estimates place the number of African languages between 1,900 (Grimes 1989) and 2,000 (UNESCO/BREDA 1985). In Nigeria alone, there are more than 400 languages, each spoken by at least 100,000 people. The selection of language or languages for literacy is therefore a complex and daunting task (Robinson 1990). The multiplicity of lang-

Table 1. Illiteracy rates (%) for selected African countries by urban and rural areas and gender among the population aged 15+.*

Country		Urban and Rural			Urban			Rural		
		Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F
Benin	('79)	83.5	74.8	90.5	69.0	55.8	80.0	93.2	88.0	97.2
	('90)	76.6	68.3	84.4						
Burkina Faso	('75)	91.2	85.3	96.7	68.5	55.2	81.9	93.3	88.3	98.0
	('90)	81.8	72.1	91.1						
Equatorial Guinea	('83)	38.0	22.6	51.5	18.9	10.0	27.6	45.9	28.2	60.7
	('90)	NA	NA	NA						
Liberia	('74)	80.4	71.0	89.7	59.5	47.5	73.7	89.0	82.0	95.6
	('90)	60.5	50.2	71.2						
Togo	('81)	68.6	53.3	81.5	43.1	24.8	60.1	78.3	65.0	89.0
	('90)	56.6	43.7	69.3						
Tanzania	('78)	53.7	37.8	68.6	29.9	16.5	45.5	57.9	42.	72.2
	('86)	9.6								

Source: *Europa Year Book* 1991: 1-12 to 1.6.

* i) The 1990 figures are estimated; there are no corresponding figures for urban and rural areas; ii) the six selected countries are the only ones for which there are breakdowns of the data for both urban and rural areas; iii) the illiteracy rates for different countries prior to 1990 are not for the same years.

Table 2. Percentage of illiteracy in Africa by age group.

Age	Year 1970	Year 1985
14	71.1	54.0
15-19	51.4	32.5
20-24	60.2	40.9
25-29	66.7	45.0
30-34	72.2	49.0
35-39	76.7	60.0
40-44	80.4	66.4
45-49	83.5	71.9
50-54	86.2	76.4
55+	91.2	83.4

Source: Carceles 1990: 15.

guage problems in Africa have confounded not only educators but also planners and politicians. The original charter of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) for example, acknowledges the extent of the problem, but gives no clear commitment to its resolution (Cervenka 1969). The choice of language for literacy is further compounded by the prestige that is accorded English, French and Portuguese as the official languages of the various nations.

The literature shows ample evidence in support of the use of local languages for literacy programs (Kagan 1982; Ouane 1990; Bhola 1981). The language policy and planning of educational programs, in adult literacy in particular, are often submerged by political interest and group attachment. The selection and use of African languages have been successful only when the given languages are spoken by large numbers of people. Swahili has been successfully used in Tanzania and Kenya. Similarly, Hausa, which is spoken by more than 8 million people in Nigeria, is serving both the purposes of literacy and national integration at least in the northern parts of Nigeria and in neighboring Niger. In addition, in some African nations such as Ghana, due to past endeavors of missionaries, there are orthographies for a number of languages. But, in general, many African languages lack existing or evolving orthographies. Thus, when there is willingness to use a local language, the "preferred" language may lack an orthography and where such an orthography exists for different languages, their numbers impose a tremendous financial burden in terms of the production of materials in all these different languages.

Often, the decision to adopt an African language for educational purposes is not based on the mother tongue criterion (how large a number of people speak the language as a mother tongue) but the community language criterion (the function of the language as the dominant means of communication in a certain area of the country). In this context, there are about 159 languages identified as community languages that serve the purposes of general communication over fairly wide areas within countries in Africa (UNESCO/BREDA 1985: 10). Twenty-three of these are shared community languages, that is, they are spoken in more than two states. For example, Fulfulde occurs in 10 states and Kiswahili and Malinke in six. Monolingualism in an African language is reported for only seven states, namely: Cape Verde, Comores, Lesotho, the Seychelles, Somalia, Swaziland and Madagascar. All others adopt more than one African language for educational purposes (UNESCO/BREDA 1985: 13). The application of Arabic script is now being studied for writing the languages of Africa, given its widespread popularity through Islam. It stands to reason that the impact of this application may have useful lessons for the millions of Moslems on the continent for whom religion is a cohesive force (UNESCO/BREDA 1985: 16).

Despite the practical difficulties in the choice and use of African languages for literacy, the need for the adoption and elevation of an African language to "official status" is a positive step for cultural reaffirmation and group identity. An Indian educator summarises the language and identity crisis in multilingual situations in Third World nations thus:

> In the context of the rapid socio-economic changes taking place in the multi-ethnic, multi-cultural developing countries in the world, adherence to languages as a means of cultural rootedness and group

> identity has become a growing phenomenon. The minority are constantly under the threat of assimilation. When under the compulsion of economy the family structure is loosened, the social organization faces disintegration, the handicrafts and other finer cultural traits of distinctiveness face extinction, language remains a major identity marker, if not the only one, and acts as the only window to the cultural past of a people. The demand for the recognition of minority languages and their use in education, administration and mass communication draws strength from this situation. (Van Dyken 1990: 44)

Van Dyken (1990: 40) argues that "the continent's limited literacy is related to the degree to which the mother tongue has been ignored in favor of the international colonial languages". In this regard, the Algerian literacy campaign, it is noted, failed because of the use of French and written Arabic instead of the spoken language (Kagan 1982: 7). On the other hand, Ethiopia's use of five languages in its 1979 literacy campaign brought astoundingly good results in five years as did Tanzania (Cairns 1989: 550-551). In Zimbabwe's case, the English spoken by a large percentage of the urban and rural populations and used in literacy was hurriedly pushed back in favor of African languages with the argument that "by using a colonial language that springs from a capitalist system, the nation cannot rid itself of the past colonial heritage" (Kagan 1982: 7).

Local languages are taking their rightful place within African cultures as materials are developed and made available to the people. These opportunities instill pride in the individual, sustain motivation in learning, prevent drop-out and promote national unity. But despite the demonstrated successful use of local languages for literacy and the general conduct of official state business, most African nations continue to rely on French, English and Portuguese as both the official and essential languages for education and literacy. The language dilemma showing arguments for and against the colonial language is presented in Table 3. The multiplicity of languages, indigenous oral traditions and verbal discourse that are at the core of African cultures have hampered the rapid growth of a literate environment. The transition from orality to literacy is there

Table 3. Africa's language dilemma.

Colonial/Metropolitan	Local
Choice of French, English or Portuguese	1900 languages in the continent
Written tradition	Oral tradition
Established orthography	Orthographies are new and evolving
Limited financial demands	Heavy financial demands for research and development
Constant supply of written materials from ex-colonial structures	Difficulty of supply of books
Prestigious, high status; perceived universality	Limited perception of application of local language
Strong literate environment via books, magazines, video, TV, radio	Evolving literate environment with scarcity of books and paper for literacy and post literacy
Support of the elite and strong political commitment	Medium of the masses lacking consistent political will except in Tanzania, Ethiopia
Considered more relevant to state bureaucracy	Assessed important for national development and unity
Strategies for structuring the larger language environment	Strategies needed to combat multilingualism
Little or no challenge in many countries	Ethnic rivalry and competition over choice of national language
Remains legacy of the imperial power	Needed to foster national unity and pride
May be in a position to foster national unity	May not always be in a position to foster national unity

fore slow in response to the needs of the populace; these obstacles however, are not insurmountable.

Institutions

The linkages between development goals, literacy objectives and the necessary institutional commitment are captured as follows:

> . . . essential ingredients of success still would be, on the part of leaders and decision-makers in national affairs and education, a *conviction* of the central importance of human resources both as the

> means and the end of national development, a *perception* of the connections between learning opportunities of people and the process of national development, a *vision* of the 'learning society' as a realizable ideal, and a *determination* to harness the resources and energies of the people and the government in order to move towards this idea. (Ahmed 1989: 409)

In many instances, African governments are known only to pay lip service to the links between literacy and social transformation. This is because the extension of quality education to an increasing number of young people and the consciousness-raising aspect of universal literacy threaten their inherited political and bureaucratic positions. In an analysis of politics in West Africa, Zolberg eloquently points out some critical facts:

> In most West African countries, it was relatively easy for a particular age cohort to move from relatively modest positions in the occupational structure to the highest political position, within a single decade. Clerks and elementary school teachers became cabinet ministers. But for the next generation, whose expectations have been based on the experience of their predecessors, conditions have fundamentally changed. The stress the incumbents had earlier placed on educational qualifications in order to challenge more traditional leaders is now a source of embarrassment to them because on the basis of such criteria, the new youth is often better qualified than they are. The situation takes the form of general denunciation of 'impractical intellectuals' who are ungrateful, knowing nothing about the realities of the country and did not have to sacrifice the best years of their lives in the anti-colonial struggles. (Zolberg 1966: 73-74)

Levels of education and age have increasingly emerged as the context of the struggle for political power in Africa. The violent expression of these conflicts is illustrated by the usurping of power by Africa's military elite in the late 1960's and 1970's and the emergence of junior officers and less educated groups as the architects of military coupe.

In reviewing these institutions, universal literacy objectives can be viewed as a political enterprise because the state plays a pivotal role in the forces that shape education and universal literacy programs (Carnoy and Samoff 1990). Preferences for universal literacy relative to other educational objectives are dictated by political necessity; in fact, it has been suggested that the policies of UNESCO tend to reinforce such national preferences (Jones 1990). UNESCO's approach to literacy has been shaped by a preference for its economic ends relative to consciousness-raising and democratic ideals that may be threatening to the power of incumbents. Freire and Macedo (1987: viii) sum it up this way: "We call for a view of literacy as a form of cultural politics. In our analysis, literacy becomes a meaningful construct to the degree that it is viewed as a set of practices that function to either empower or disempower people".

In Africa as a whole, nations have subordinated the vision of mass literacy as an instrument for political justice, egalitarian and democratic principles, to policy instruments that promote universal literacy for the reconstruction of a uniform and disciplined citizenry, responsive to state ideology and/or economic objectives. Where and when issues of equity have been stressed, African nations have done so largely in reference to their relationship to external forces both current and historical. The two successful examples of universal literacy in Africa, Ethiopia and Tanzania, are illustrative of this general orientation to universal literacy on the continent. In Tanzania, the state's strategy of universal literacy with emphasis on equity was aimed primarily at breaking away from the world capitalist system. In the words of the former President and the architect of Tanzania's "Education for Self-Reliance", the state's policy meant ". . . reforming the inherited colonial education's elitist orientation by the introduction of socialist principles through new text materials in Swahili as the national language" (Nyerere 1968).

By this policy, the leadership of Tanzania sought to use literacy to buttress its power without being endangered by the new consciousness emerging from literacy. The state accomplished this by orienting the content of literacy and its consciousness-raising aspects more specifically towards the world capitalist system. Further, it acted to diminish English as the "language of power" by raising the status of Swahili to the official language for literacy. Similarly, Ethiopia's gains in literacy were occasioned largely by the country's past communist regime's use of literacy to support its power and ideology.

The argument here is that literacy is ultimately a social construction that simultaneously determines and is determined by a given social order. In Sylvia Scribner's words, literacy "is always and pervasively social in nature" (Bhola 1990a: 14). Illiteracy does not occur randomly, it is concentrated among the poor and the powerless, including women, as an expression of social power and inequality. In Africa, education has become the instrument to monopolize choice occupations and political power. Hence, those in power have a vested interest in restricting access to literacy or in fashioning educational policies to meet limited political and economic ends. In sub-Saharan Africa, literacy assumes further social implications in terms of the "competition between rival languages, dialects, channels and genres that exist in culturally heterogeneous society" (Stubbs 1986: 43). These conflicts are often manipulated to further the aims of powerful groups in society.

Political interests in Africa have been the overriding consideration for both the type and scope of education and literacy objectives. Both colonial and post-colonial African educational objectives have emphasized functional goals to accomplish economic ambitions, the expectations being that this would minimize individual and collective political aspirations and conflicts arising from social inequality. But regardless of the limitations that may be imposed on both the extent and quality of education, they cannot completely reduce the consciousness-raising aspects of literacy. Indeed, Africa's struggle for independence was aided quite considerably by literacy and the aspirations of the products of colonial education. They encouraged and used their literate skills to articulate the desires of other Africans to be free from colonial rule.

A Conceptual Model of Roadblocks

Literacy, conceived broadly in this study as a sociocultural process embodying psychological, institutional and group dynamics, has to address four issues: For whom and for what purpose is literacy intended; what are the methods and what is the language? The responses to these policy issues vary in both time and in space but, ultimately, they revolve around a given nation's dominant political ideology, external economic ties and responses to international agencies such as UNESCO and the World Bank. Debates about these policy issues are often confusing and thus, their policy prescription unclear. Indeed it is not clear if literacy programs are to be aimed at a few or all individuals, what methods ought to be used and what ought to be the basis for the selection of language for literacy programs. The essence of these ambiguities in policy directions within national and international agencies for general education and literacy programs is captured as follows:

> At the heart of UNESCO's literacy program has been a search for the application of particular concepts of literacy. These concepts have been developed to provide theoretical guidance to programming. In reality, they are better seen as abstractions intended to justify more pragmatic judgments made in a highly political atmosphere of program planning. UNESCO has concentrated on funding links between literacy and development and forging approaches to literacy acceptable to governments, a view that would downgrade the 'consciousness-raising' potential of literacy in favor of stressing its economic, technological and developmental impact . . . UNESCO's approaches to literacy have been erected on two not wholly compatible foundations, the moral and the material and the organization has never satisfactorily resolved the tension between the two. (Jones 1990: 50-52)

African states' explicit and implicit policies towards the use of education and universal literacy as an economic tool, legitimized by UNESCO and other international agencies, limit the scope of literacy programs in both their quantitative and qualitative dimensions. Adherents of what amounts to a "conspiracy theory" have even gone further to suggest that the limitation on universal literacy and its "consciousness-raising" focus in particular is an attempt to foster illiteracy in Africa as an instrument of domination (Bhola 1990a: 17).

Figure 1 summarizes the foregoing argument. First, the national interest in education is dictated by economic conditions. Then, there are political and social conditions whose change can be greatly aided by literacy. However, such needs are often antithetical to the interests of the existing political order. Therefore, the social and political ends of literacy are perceived in terms of its real and potential threats to the political establishment. Thus, educational objectives are constructed with a view to containing this prospective political and social impact of literacy. Specifically, African states' lack of commitment to democratic ideals is both cause and result of illiteracy.

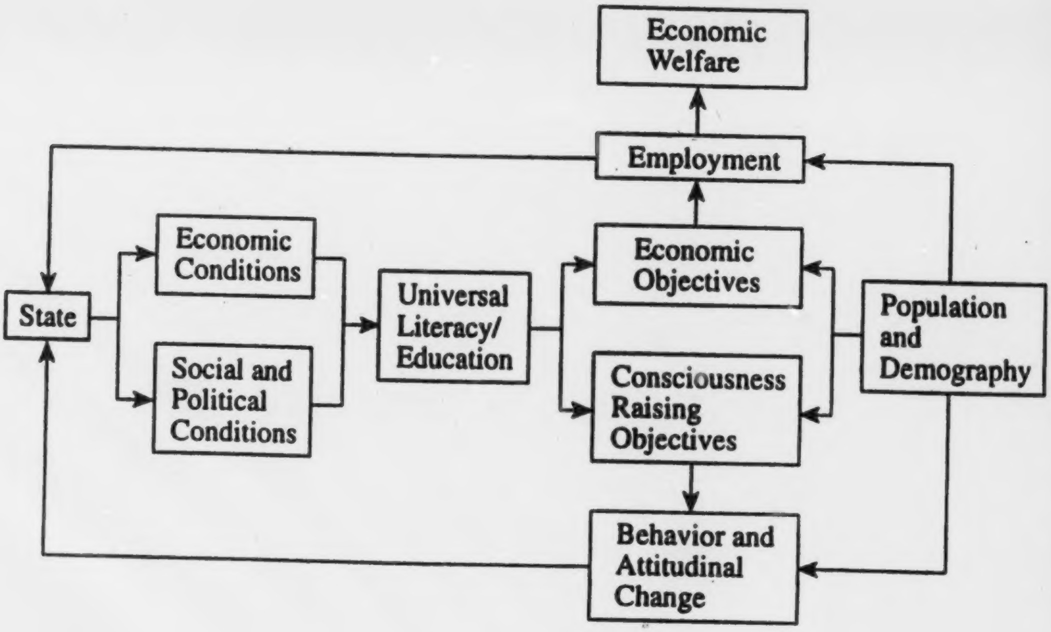
Economic Welfare
Employment
State
Economic Conditions
Social and Political Conditions
Universal Literacy/ Education
Economic Objectives
Consciousness Raising Objectives
Population and Demography
Behavior and Attitudinal Change

Fig. 1. A model of roadblocks to universal literacy for social integration and change in sub-Saharan African countries.

Without this central roadblock, literacy, however limited, can help to change behaviors, attitudes and in turn the state. But as Figure 1 illustrates, changes in the state as a means to changing education and the uses of literacy have to be broadly conceived to encompass the factors outlined, their interactions, uses and misuses.

Conclusion

Ultimately, the role that literacy is allowed to play in the process of social transformation is dictated by the politics of a nation or state. Without state control to further its interest, the free flow of information and the diffusion of the written word by even the relatively limited number of literates will change African societies substantially.

Roadblocks to universal literacy have, however, been set up and may be properly conceived of in the context of power relationships within the state. These relationships from the foregoing discussions can be constructed and reviewed on the basis of the following propositions:

- The level, type and commitment to literacy is simultaneously determined by a given social order. In this context, post-colonial governments, and current one-party and military regimes have produced and reproduced literacy programs that are limited in scope in terms of their content and application.
- The (state) ministries or agencies responsible for the promotion of literacy have vested interests in the uses of literacy skills. Therefore, expansion of literacy programs and their content will be promoted in consonance with these vested interests.
- Universal literacy objectives will be pursued to the degree that they are not in conflict with state interests. This, in part, explains African states' preferences for functional literacy programs that are aimed at economic development objectives and more efficient performance of traditional social roles.
- The scope and levels of literacy among social groups correspond to and are determined by historical factors. Initial privileged access and the exclusion of some groups from education have been maintained and serve as the sources of conflict.
- Functional literacy programs either deliberately or unwittingly reinforce traditional social roles at the expense of "consciousness-raising" in the process of social change.
- The "consciousness-raising" components of universal literacy programs are encouraged mostly within the confines of political ideol-

ogy and in reference to interests and threats - both real and perceived - that are external to the social system.

- In predominantly illiterate societies, social institutions function to reinforce the uses of illiteracy as instruments of social control. Among the literate population such control is effected through official censorship in the creation, reproduction and distribution of information.
- To the degree that access to information and the acquisition of literate skills to deal with the written word impacts on life chances, that control is part of the system of social domination.
- Practical constraints, such as financial, demographic and cultural, among other internal factors, combine with those that emerge from complex external global relationships to serve as roadblocks to education and universal literacy in Africa, but their roles are only secondary to those that emerge from internal power relationships.

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QUALITY OF EDUCATION AND ITS IMPACT ON EARNINGS OF ADULTS IN URBAN INDUSTRY-RELATED OCCUPATIONS

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The relationship between education and earnings of adults is important in making decisions regarding allocation of resources. The higher the earning of educated adults, the greater the presupposition of productivity. In other words, more education means higher productivity. The link between education and earnings of adults is also important in decisions regarding distribution of educational opportunities. Governments committed to long-term redistribution of income must consider the impact of education on the social class system. Numerous studies have been done on this topic, including those of Blaug (1970) and Mincer (1972).

The current research uses the most recent data on the average annual earnings of adults with differing levels of education in urban industrial-related occupations in order to construct education-earnings relationships for these occupations. Data on earnings and level of education were obtained from the 1980 and 1990 Census of Population and 1933 Digest of Education Statistics. These studies found that the average earnings of adult workers in these occupations were correlated with educational attainment of the workers.

Age-Earning Profiles

Certain clear patterns are identified from the data used in this research. The age-earnings profiles of workers with differing levels of education show three general characteristics that have also been found in other studies:

1. Average earnings of all adults, both educated and illiterate, go up with their age to a maximum between 45 and 54 years of age, and then begin to decline.
2. The higher the level of education, the steeper the rate of increase of earnings, and the higher the initial earnings of adults at the start of the working life.
3. In some cases, adults with higher education reach their maximum earning capacity later than do the less educated. In all

cases, the level of earning at retirement of those adults with higher education is also higher.

These characteristics suggest that over the lifetime, the total earnings of educated adults are considerably higher than the lifetime earnings of those with little or no education. They also mean that it is important to look at total lifetime earnings of adults, rather than earnings differentials at one point in time.

The data used in Tables 1 and 2 were obtained from Table 1 of the 1980 Census of Population, Earnings and Detailed Occupation of Persons 18 Years Old and Over in the Recent Experienced Civilian Labor Force with Earnings in 1979, by Age, Sex, and Years of School Completed.

The Determination of Earnings Differentials

The age-earnings profiles shown in Figures 1 and 2 demonstrate that both age and education determine an adult's earning capacity. The average earnings of adults rise as they grow older until they reach their peak earning capacity between ages 40 and 55; thereafter the average level of earnings declines. The level of education influences their average earnings, and university graduates have consistently higher average earnings than do those with only secondary schooling.

Even though age and education are important in determining the earning capacity of adults, they are not the only factors that influence earnings. Sex also plays a part in determining an adult's earning potential, since discrimination may exist that artificially distorts earnings patterns. The data show that women consistently earn less than men; nevertheless, the more highly educated earn more than the less educated, when the sex variable is held constant.

Choice of occupation is another factor that helps to explain differences in the average earnings of adults.

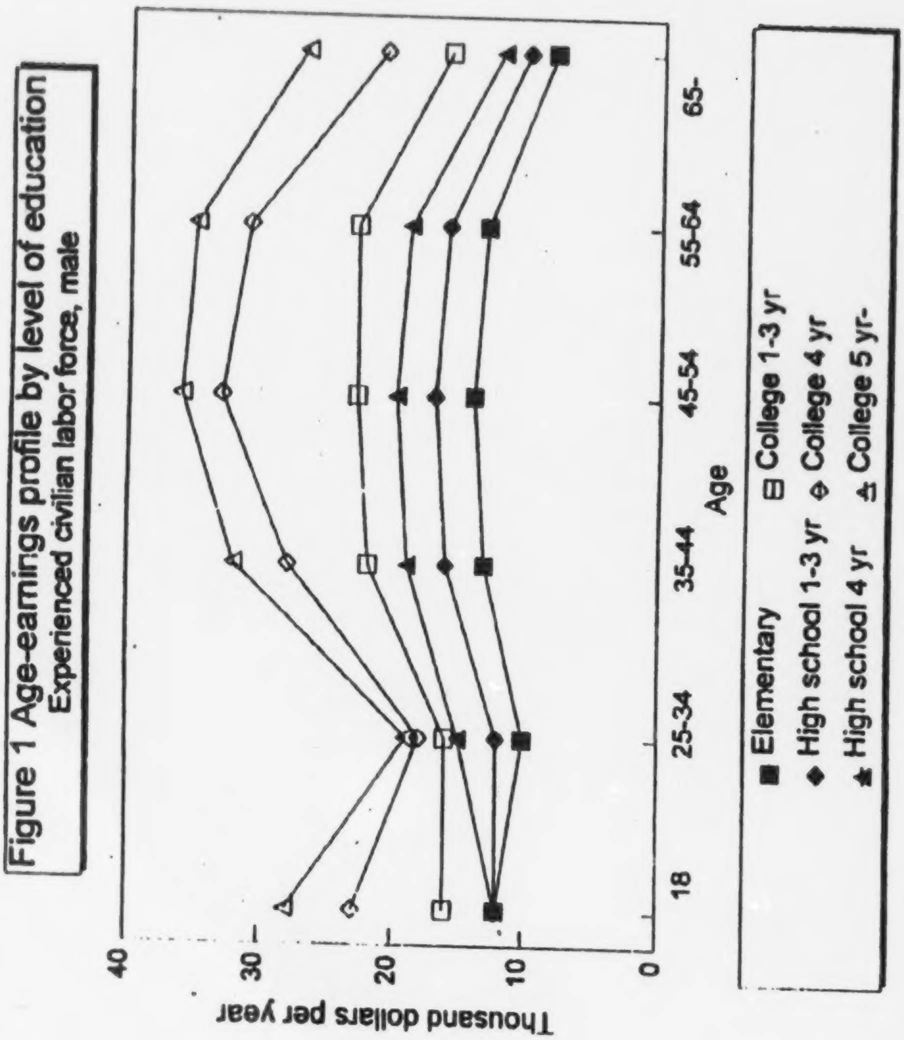
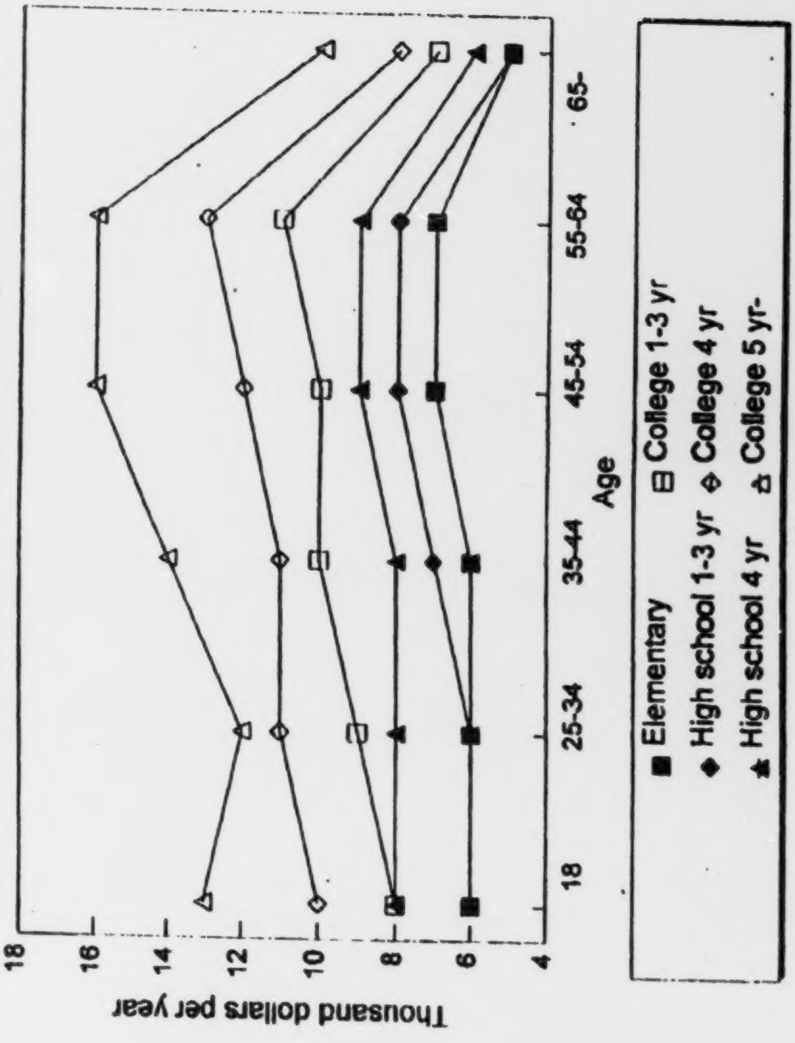


Figure 1 Age-earnings profile by level of education
Experienced civilian labor force, male

SAVE FOR FIGURE 2

Figure 2 Age-earnings profile by level of education
Experienced civilian labor force, female



Earnings Functions

Linear multiple regression analysis is used to construct earnings functions for urban industry-related and other occupations. This earnings function can be fitted to multivariate data to show the influence of variables such as education, age, and sex on the independent variable, earnings. A simple form of an earnings function is:

$$Y = f(E, A, S, O...)$$

where Y is the level of income, or earnings, E indicates education, or the number of years of schooling, A indicates age, S indicates sex, and O indicates occupation. This earnings function is used to test whether education has a significant influence on life-time earnings of an adult.

The statistical analysis includes the following:

1. General analysis of earnings functions in all occupations. Data used include:
   a. Earnings in 1989 by educational attainment, sex, race, and Hispanic origin: 1990. Table 4, 1990 Census of Population.
   b. Total annual money earnings of persons 25 years old and over, by educational attainment, sex, and age: 1991. Table 370, Digest of Education Statistics, 1993.
2. The effects of education on earnings in urban industry-related occupations. Data used include:
   a. Income, earnings, and work activity of persons who held a bachelor's degree, by field of study, Spring 1990. Table 378, Digest of Education Statistics, 1993. The urban industry-related occupation includes business and management, economics and engineering.

A summary of the results of the statistical analysis is shown in Table 3.

Models A and B are earnings functions in all occupations, while Model C deals with the effects of education on earnings in urban indus-

Table 3

Model	Variable	t	P>t	F	P>F	R-Square	Adjusted R-Square
A				169.86	0.00	0.97	0.96
	edu	13.03	0.00				
B				135.95	0.00	0.89	0.88
	edu	17.38	0.00				
	exp	3.13	0.00				
	sex	9.88	0.00				
C				13.48	0.04	0.82	0.76
	bach	-3.67	0.04				

Notes: edu = educational attainment
exp = experience measured by age minus years at school plus six
bach = a dummy variable showing whether the person has a bachelor's degree

trial-related occupations. The R-square and adjusted R-square of all three models show that the models fit the data well. The F-tests reject the null hypothesis that the coefficients of the variables are insignificant. This means the models are useful. The t-test shows that education attainment, as long as other variables are held constant, is a significant explanatory variable. This leaves little doubt that the average earnings of all experienced civilian labor force, and especially the earnings of adults in urban industrial-related occupations, are closely correlated with their educational attainment.

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